Studies in Arthurian and Courtly Cultures

THE MEDIEVAL AUTHOR IN MEDIEVAL FRENCH LITERATURE

Edited by Virginie Greene

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Virginie Greene

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This volume is dedicated to the memory of Katalin Halász

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INTRODUCTION

Virginie Greene

The question of the author will probably be seen one day as a minor digression in the broader quarrel of the subject, which occupied many scholars during the second half of the twentieth century A. D.[1] Now that the quarrel of the subject seems to be over (or at least not to gather the polemical energy it used to attract), the question of the author may seem doomed to vanish in the purgatory of yesterday fashions. But the fact that the author is not in question or not a question any more may also reveal that we have gone beyond the stage of questioning and entered the stage of answering. Like other literary scholars, medievalists went through a phase of scepticism and submitted their authors (including the anonymous ones) to ontological doubt: "Did you even exist?" It never hurts to question one's concepts, but few scholars can maintain an attitude of radical questioning for long. Today the question "What is an author?" and the sub-question "What is a medieval author?" do not keep many people awake at night and busy during day time. But the question "What does an author do?" and the sub-question "What did a medieval author do?" are regularly addressed in publications and talks, and given answers.

Yet we cannot forget that not too long ago the ontological question was asked and the legitimacy of the concept was submitted to inquiry. The pragmatic questions we try to answer now derive from this sceptical phase. They may also constitute a response to the broader question of the subject. Instead of arguing about what a subject is or if a subject exists, many scholars view the subject as an agent defined by actions, intentions, productions, and expression. These manifestations of the subject can be examined and interpreted along various theoretical and methodological lines, including those that posit the subject as the subject of the unconscious. Today, studying authors and authorship mostly means studying a practice and the status associated with this practice in the eyes of authors and their public. This implies that scholars detach themselves as much as possible from the values

and virtues commonly attributed to the diverse views of the author they encounter. From the inspired creator to the humble scribe, there is a gamut of authorial positions that are all capable of sustaining literary excellence and revealing a subject. At the same time authorial postures always contain a certain degree of imposture that a scholar should be able to identify and expose without acrimony since it is part of the trade.

This collection of essays presents a series of case studies illustrating the agency of authors whose common characteristic is to have written in French between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries. These essays also show how new research directions in medieval literary studies have contributed new answers to the five basic questions: What did medieval authors do? What did they think they were doing? How did they see themselves? How were they seen by their contemporaries? How have they been approached by modern scholars? The first question has greatly benefited from the development of codicology as a fundamental—rather than auxiliary—part of literary analysis. The study of manuscripts and early printed books has provided new facts about authors' activities and involvement in the production of books, and also new lines of interpretation of medieval texts, taking into account page layout, illustration, musical notations, marks of ownership, and readership. From this perspective, the author tends to be viewed either as a collective agency or as a specific function in a collective enterprise. The second question "What did they think they were doing?" supplements this view by seeking insider information on the authorial function. Prologues and other meta-discursive elements (including arts of poetry) provide rich material for studying the ways authors define their activity and their role. The third question "How did they see themselves?" brings the matter back to a more individualized framing of the author. It addresses what can be called the reflexive practice of authorship in medieval works and scrutinizes the subtle marks left by a subject in a text. Such marks can be what modern readers would recognize as "autobiographical" elements. More often they consist of linguistic practices such as the manipulation of pronouns, rhetorical figures such as the systematic use of antitheses, and poetic tropes such as recurring metaphors. The question "How were they seen by their contemporaries?" locates authors in a network of texts responding to the growing circulation of vernacular literature in medieval societies. Razos and vidas are a well-known acknowledgment of the troubadours as authors. In Northern France, evidence is more scattered but can be found in the ways some authors mention their predecessors and contemporaries, and in the ways manuscripts introduce and present the texts they contain. In the late Middle Ages, the first attempts to create a canon of vernacular authors and the first literary quarrels precisely document the increasing visibility of the author.

The last question "How have they been approached by modern scholars?" displaces the inquiring gaze to the discipline itself and acknowledges that the notion of "author" is also constructed by those who study it. The medieval field is probably the only literary field that provides (at least in English) a specific term for its self-study: medievalism. This term encompasses all uses and abuses of the Middle Ages in subsequent eras, including the development of the study of medieval literature as an academic discipline. The construction of the medieval author is a crucial element in the evolution of the field and in its positioning within the broader field of literary criticism. Looking at how previous medievalists envisioned their authors (or lack thereof) may allow current medievalists to better understand and justify their own practice.

So far the questions listed and presented here could apply to any author in any period. However, such a collection of essays can be justified only if there is something special about medieval authors that sets them apart from other authors. One obvious distinctive feature of the medieval author is that he/she/it is a difficult animal to corner and describe. Not all medieval authors are anonymous, but anonymity and pseudonymity occur often enough in medieval literature to create a specific onomastic problem and to destabilize any common sense relation between name and person, name and author, author and person. Generally medievalists become accustomed to it, but once in a while the issue resurfaces as, for instance, in Howard Bloch's latest book, *The Anonymous Marie de France*.[2] Another characteristic of medieval authors is the instability of their works and their lack of control over them once in writing. If medieval authors do not seem to have greatly suffered from the anxiety of influence, they certainly were affected by the anxiety of interference—for good reason. Medieval authors were also living in a world in which oral transmission and performance still played a role in literature. For us, a medieval author can only be someone whose literary productions were at some point put in writing. But for medieval authors themselves, story tellers, jugglers, and singers were part of the literary landscape—even those whose works were never collected into books, and even if the more literate poets tended to frown upon their illiterate colleagues. The dual nature of medieval literature (oral and written) persists well into the era of print, and affects figures of authors and practices of authorship all along the period. The last trait of medieval authors I would like to point out is the difficulty they had in establishing literary authority in vernacular languages. In Latin Christianity, to write vernacular verse and prose about religious or secular matters was not an easy undertaking. It involved redefining the difference between laymen and clerics, exporting the culture of the book from monasteries into castles and cities, creating new models of the Christian self and new figures of the author. In sum, the traits characterizing

the medieval author indicate a figure which was not yet viewed as a social or professional type, nor as belonging to a specific order or estate, but as standing at the threshold of several important social and cultural borders.[3] In this sense, an author was above all "a translator in the broadest sense of the term" as Howard Bloch qualifies Marie de France.[4]

If there are some common traits justifying the study of the medieval author, one may ask if it is legitimate to identify such a thing as the "French medieval author." The history of the discipline has shown enough how tendencious it is to project modern national entities and identities (i.e., from the nineteenth and twentieth century) onto the Middle Ages. This book does not attempt to sketch a multifaceted portrait of the medieval archetype of Victor Hugo and Marguerite Duras. However, it is undeniable that the terms "France" and "françois" were in use between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries and meant something. Authors chose to write in a language or another (not necessarily their maternal language as Brunetto Latini demonstrates), and these choices shaped literary traditions. That is why Wolfram von Eschenbach cannot be viewed as one of the continuators of Chrétien de Troyes's *Conte du Graal*. Wolfram did not continue Chrétien's romance; he did it all over again, translating, adapting, integrating it into his own literary and linguistic tradition. The author with whom Wolfram is in dialogue in *Parzival* is Gottfried von Strassburg, not Chrétien de Troyes or his fictional representative, the provençal Kyot. Mastering a language is a key function of medieval authors. Studying "French medieval authors" means looking at authorship as practiced by those who chose to master French in its various dialectal guises. No doubt that non-French authors such as Virgil, Saint Augustine, Dante, and Petrarch have to be taken into account as role models for all European medieval authors, including the French. Such figures are mentioned in some essays in this volume, but no single essay is entirely devoted to them. It is symptomatic of French medieval literature that it did not produce a towering figure that could be equaled to the four above-mentioned beacons. It did produce fine writers though. I hope this book will be read as a praise of fine writers of all times and all places, with a particular thought for fine French medieval writers. I am deeply grateful to the contributors of this volume for the attention they devoted to their authors, no matter how difficult to grasp they are.

The eleven essays collected here do not trace a clear chronological line from "no author" to "the Author." This collection could be subtitled "Toward the Author" to indicate the Author as an ideal goal always somewhat announced but never fully and simply realized, at least in the corpus of works studied herein—a corpus spanning from the late twelfth-century with the first continuations of Chrétien's *Conte du Graal* (in Matilda Bruckner's essay) to the sixteenth century and even later with the printed

versions of *Melusine* and *Olivier de Castille* (in Ana Pairet's essay). It is not that nothing changes during these four or five centuries: by studying authorial manifestations in well-defined genres (chronicles and lyric poetry) from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, Sophie Marnette and Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet bring appreciable changes to the fore.

Marnette's quantitative and qualitative analysis of first-person markers in a corpus of chronicles demonstrates a trend from third-person narrator (Villehardouin, Clari) to first-person narrator (Joinville, Froissart, Commynes, Monstrelet, and the Heraut Berry). This trend, however, is complicated by the numerous functions that the "I" can assume in historical narratives: author, narrator, witness, actor, character, commentator. The choice of the grammatical person establishes the position of the narrator with respect to his text and its truth. Marnette remarks that in earlier chronicles, "the absence of *I*-narrator, . . . illustrates how vernacular prose came to be used as a discursive modality expressing an impersonal, single, immanent truth." In later chronicles "the *I* representing the narrator" comes to coincide with "the reference to the name and the function of author." Thus, a "chameleon I" is in charge of establishing a "rhetoric of truth," which by the end of the thirteenth century is no longer supported by the mere fact that a text is written in prose. Since "the I-narrator-author is engaged in the global coherence of his work," the conjunction of the "experiencing self and the narrating self" in later chronicles contributes to the establishment of a subjective truth which, Marnette suggests, may be comparable to the subjective truth emerging in lyric poetry.

In lyric poetry, according to Cerquiglini-Toulet, changes occur first at the level of the "writing stage," on which the poet must establish who or what makes him or her write. If the question "for whom is it written?" never becomes obsolete since patronage remains an important frame of literary production throughout the period, a new question is asked: "why is it written?" For Cerquiglini-Toulet this question is related to the emergence of the "sentement" [inspiration] as an authority from within, justifying the act of writing poetry independantly of any patron: "The writer, even when he or she is commissioned, is no longer a servant or a minstrel, but is instead an author." But this new freedom is related to a more complex relationship between the author and his or her book. The book comes to be seen as a "son" which will survive his "father" and represent him for posterity. Then paradoxically, "the author begins to exist once he has disappeared and survives in his work." For fourteenth- and fifteenth-century writers the consequences of such a change might be nothing less than the invention of literary history through the celebration by poets of their predecessors and masters. By writing a ballad about Guillaume de Machaut's death, Eustache Deschamps "gives the first sign of recognition of

a poet writing in French." Literary tombs and epitaphs of writers will eventually multiply, giving monumentality to authors' names, but also blending reverence with derision. "Is this transformation of the figure of the author into a mythical character a coronation?" Cerquiglini-Toulet asks. All the other essays answer this question by catching an author or a group of authors in delicate and paradoxical postures. Crowned or aspiring to a crown perhaps, but with what strange crowns and on what unstable thrones they present themselves, when they care to do so.

To wit, if we don't know much about who Chrétien de Troyes was, his name was sufficiently recognizable as an authorizing sign in the decades following his literary activity to stimulate in more than one reader the desire to "continue" where Chrétien had left off. Matilda Bruckner finds in the continuations to the *Conte du Graal* "the whole gamut of authorial identity from anonymous to the fully weighted proper name—but significantly not presented in that order." This "collective enterprise" was a testing ground for authorial attempts, but the unexplained failure of the first grail hero, Perceval, became emblematic of the continuators' failure to end his quest and to gain a "fully weighted name." One of the continuators, Wauchier de Denain, can only be characterized by his "modesty as author," and by his tendency to appropriate from his main character "the strategy of the *nice*" unable (or unwilling?) to resolve the tensions set up by Chrétien "between Grail and girl." This may be after all a sign of true literary flair: we may not have met here with a "great medieval author" like Chrétien, but with a good medieval reader aspiring to carry on the pleasures of reading through writing—endlessly and aimlessly.

If the continuators repeatedly failed to end the romance of the Grail, about a century later Baudoin Butor repeatedly failed to start a *Roman des fils du roi Constant* that, as such, never got beyond the stage of hopeful planning. Anne Berthelot shows that the four drafts found in the blanks and margins of MS BnF f. fr. 1446 reveal better than successful romances the complex position of the author of romance after the great anonymous or pseudonymous prose cycles have been written. Like his colleagues, Baudoin "dreams of inserting newly minted characters into the still rather loose plot of the chronicles of Britain." But unlike most of them, he is keen to insert a new authorial name, "Baudoin Butor," in the lineage of fictitious or semi-fictitious names used to "authorize" prose romances such as Robert and Helie de Boron. In this literary context, a name like "Baudoin Butor" has no authorizing power in itself. In his four drafts Butor uses patrons' names, fictitious characters, the classic dream frame, and numerous first-person assertions. This was obviously not enough—or too much. However, the failure may be not so complete. Berthelot cautiously suggests relating Butor's drafts to a romance that did not fail to exist, the duly anonymous *Le Roman*

de Perceforest. The trajectory thus indicated is from an author without a romance toward a romance without an author. In any case, the difficulty of conjoining a romance and an author's name is clearly rooted in the practice of borrowing and rewriting, as Berthelot points out in her essay.

In the case of Gautier de Coincy's *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, the practice of borrowing and rewriting is not adverse to the establishment of a strong authorial claim over the work. Margaret Switten's main goal is to demonstrate how Gautier "uses borrowing and citation to define authorship within his text." It may seem at first sight that his status as a monk would contradict his assertion as a vernacular author. But Gautier answers those who object to monks singing and composing *chansons nouvelles* [new songs], by "separating himself from monks who become jongleurs and travel about the world." It is "from within the monastery" that a monk can be justified in using the talents granted to him by God to celebrate God. Gautier, however, does not celebrate God directly, but God's mother. The Virgin allows Gautier to justify his use of vernacular language and of secular literature and music. Switten insists on the resonance of the word *Dame* and its ambiguities: a feudal term adapted to the religious sphere, "the word *dame* also recalls the secular lady of courtly lyric, allowing Gautier to play ambiguously on secular lyric traditions in order to convert *ma dame* [my lady] to *Notre Dame* [Our Lady]." To better serve his Lady, Gautier feels justified in borrowing from all sources and "[converting] secular sources to sacred use." His true authorial signature consists in the ingenuity he displays in adapting borrowing and citation to his own project—not only as a poet but also as a composer. By demonstrating that Gautier the composer resorts to techniques similar to those of Gautier the poet, Switten reminds us that the question of the literary author can be illuminated by research on other forms of authorship—music in particular, given the importance of "song" and "singing" in medieval poetry and poetics.

What if Guillaume de Lorris and/or Jean de Meun had been monks? Could they have written the *Roman de la Rose* "from within the monastery" and dedicated it to the "Rose of all roses," that is Gautier's Lady? Obviously not. But the proximity in time of the *Miracles de Nostre Dame* and the *Roman de la Rose*, as well as their great success (97 manuscripts of the *Miracles*, about 250 of the *Rose*) should make us reflect on the thin and unstable divide between religious and secular literature in the thirteenth century. If the *Miracles* can be seen as a result of the fruitful import of secular culture into the monastery, the *Roman de la Rose* could be defined as a wild product of monastic culture unleashed in the secular world. Alexandre Leupin submits the *Rose* to an anachronistic treatment by transforming it into a Möbius strip, a paradoxical unilateral surface that was "invented" in the nineteenth century by German mathematician August Möbius (1790–1868). Used as

an interpretative tool, the Möbius strip reveals that "the structure of the *Roman de la Rose* is grounded in a very old art of interpretation, the *concordia discors* of the two Testaments created by the church fathers in order to read the Bible." For Leupin, the vexed question of double authorship in the *Rose* can be solved by reconsidering the relationship between the two names of the *Rose*[5] as a paradoxical blend of unity and duality, represented by inscribing both names on a Möbius strip. This should remind us how much medieval logicians loved *insolubilia* [insoluble problems], including the famous paradox of the liar: "I am a liar" is a statement the truth or falsity of which can never be decided because of its self-referentiality.[6] Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun's names and agency are inscribed in the *Roman de la Rose* in a similar self-referential and undecidable fashion, with the ultimate result being that "no part or author has a privilege of truth over the other; contradictions will simply coexist in the eternal day which is a distinctive feature of the *Roman's* temporality."

The coexistence of contradictions at all levels of the *Roman de la Rose* does not happen without a measure of violence. Leupin underlines the brutality of the *Rose*'s ending: "the sexual conquest (which is a rape) of the Rose." Stephen Nichols sees the sexual violence present in various parts of Jean de Meun's text as a direct reflection of the "initial agon or struggle for control of the work." Jean de Meun proposes a model of poetic generation built on the myth of Saturn's castration by Jupiter, a fertile castration since it gives birth to Venus. Here Nichols suspects a break with earlier practices of writing: "whereas for Guillaume de Lorris and other poets of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, adapting, translating and rewriting preexisting works was a natural poetic process, Jean de Meun portrays it in rather more brutal terms." A century or so later, Petrarch was able to find and uphold a "link between life and letters," and therefore to design "a new concept of a 'modern' authorial persona." Jean de Meun and to some extent Guillaume de Lorris as well—why was he unable to finish his "dream"?—failed to free their "authorial personae" from the traditional structures of transmission and interpretation they still needed in order to find a space in which to write. But one may praise and enjoy the *Roman de la Rose* because its authors (including, as Nichols points out, the numerous scribes and illustrators who tinkered with the *Rose*) are part, rather than owners, of the rich texture of the romance. In any case, the modern dyad of "author" and "work" that is present even in the thoughts of thinkers rejecting the idea of a work expressing its author's personality (for instance T. S. Eliot and Barthes), should not be projected onto medieval works such as the *Roman de la Rose*.

Zrinka Stahuljak explores another form of violence associated with the practice of writing: the violence resulting from the "tensions inherent to

neutral authorship." Stahuljak demonstrates that Froissart's claims "that he is a neutral recorder of history" should not be taken as a noncommital topos. Nothing is less noncommital than to be *neutre* [neutral] in fourteenth-century political language and practices. Froissart's commitment to neutrality affects the structure of his work, his choice of episodes to narrate, his mode of retelling them, and the abrupt way his *Chronicles* come to their end. One may be surprized to see Gaston Febus described as "the glorious embodiment of neutral politics," but Froissart's text as well as what is known of Febus's actions support this description. Febus plays a central role in the *Chronicles* "as Froissart's political alter ego," exposing the paradox of a neutrality that, to be maintained, requires strength and, when needed, murderous violence. But, in Froissart's narrative, if neutrality is presented on one hand as a virile quality, on the other hand it is also connected to "the passive, negative position of submission" and an "effeminate" type of rulers. Froissart constructs neutrality as a "duplicitous" and unstable position. Moreover, Froissart describes the language in which he writes, French, as full of "deceptive words and covered ones." Even if this is reported as the opinion of the English, such an avowal sets the author of the *Chronicles* in a suspicious position—perhaps we can see here yet another form of the liar paradox: "I, Jean Froissart, neutral historiographer, will tell you the truth in French, which is the language of liars."

Danielle Bohler captures prose romance "authors" in a curious posture, presenting themselves to their readers both "frontally and in profile." Traditional topoi of textual genesis provide a "well-established pose" by which the author receiving an older book in order to write a newer one affirms "his respectful affiliation with an authority." But the gesture of receiving or discovering a "little book" is now inscribed in the time of the writer's life and "at the heart of a private space in which the writer is alone." The topos of the found manuscript becomes "an individualized encounter" between an old book and the writer of a "book-to-be," which will exist as "a direct result of the author's mental state." Bohler studies the variations of the opening scene in several fifteenth-century anonymous and named romances. Encountering an older book means encountering an older language in need of updating, which justifies the intervention of the rewriter and founds his or her authorial claim. This can also stir a melancholy meditation on the destiny of books, condemned to oblivion if they are not rediscovered. In Raoul Lefèvre's striking prologue to *L'Histoire de Jason*, the encounter with the book becomes an encounter with the mythic hero. Jason elects Lefèvre to a special literary destiny and allows him to find peace by "anchoring" his troubled mind in a worthy project. Bohler's observations demonstrate that in late romances, a rich array of metaphors and renewed topoi allow authors to depict themselves at work both in the

material world in which books are produced, and in the immaterial world in which books are conceived and dreamed.

Ana Pairet's essay focuses on the destiny of two late romances, Jean d'Arras's *Melusine* and Philippe le Camus's *Olivier de Castille*, in order to examine "how the shift from script to print affects medieval conventions of authorship." Print has certainly not bestowed on Jean d'Arras and Philippe le Camus the status of "author" in its modern sense; on the contrary, Pairet shows that "the fundamental instability of authority" characteristic of medieval romances is carried on into the era of print and complicated by the intervention of a new actor on the "writing stage" (to use Cerquiglini-Toulet's expression), the printer. According to Pairet, because printed books "now reach a much broader audience," printers are expected "to guarantee readability" and "to assume hermeneutic forms of authority." Jean d'Arras's authorship was preserved in print until the end of the seventeenth century, but his romance was divided by printers into two very successful romances. Philippe le Camus's name was also preserved in the first printed editions of *Olivier de Castille*, but the printer Louis Cruse (alias Louis Garbin) inscribed his name and detailed his interventions "thus construct[ing] a meta-textual didactic voice framing the original narrative and Camus' prologue." Pairet also shows that early modern translators could go further than printers by routinely practicing "deliberate omission of authorial marks and erasure of paratextual signatures." For Pairet, the advent of print tended to preserve the "authorial self-representation" and the "multi-layered authorial persona" typical of medieval romances. But it also enabled editors/printers "to inscribe their names and agency in the liminary spaces of the book more assertively than had medieval copyists."

The eleventh essay of this collection reflects upon the ways medievalists have considered their "authors" during the last half-century. Because of its paradoxical and elusive nature, "the medieval author" became a much more interesting phenomenon once the "author" or the "Author" had been submitted to Roland Barthes's and Michel Foucault's vigorous questioning. The trajectory of Paul Zumthor demonstrates that medievalists could, for a while, feel attuned to cutting-edge aspects of literary criticism as they embraced a "textualist" approach made easier for them by the dearth of full-fleshed authors in medieval literature. This was done at the price of sweeping under the carpet numerous marks of authority and authorship present in medieval texts, and of considering the later Middle Ages as a form of decadence. Even Zumthor at some point moved toward another position—more inspired by Foucault's historicism than by Barthes's criticism—which allowed him to reopen the text to its context and consider author and authorship as part of medieval literary and cultural reality. In the 1980s medievalists debated the status of medieval authors such as Chrétien de

Troyes, Marie de France, and Jean Renart, seen by some as pure textual effects. At the same time, the complex games of anonymity and pseudonymity in prose romances attracted more interest. During the last two or three decades, medievalists came to accept their authors as a paradoxical object, "both a tool and a projection which cannot be analyzed in logical terms." The goal of this volume of essays is to demonstrate that glancing at medieval authors—"frontally and in profile"—is indeed a productive approach to medieval texts.

Notes

1. See Vincent Descombes's summary of the "Querelle du Sujet" in *Le complément de sujet: enquête sur le fait d'agir de soi-même* (Paris: Gallimard, 2004), pp. 7–13. On the question of the author, see pp. 204–205.
2. R. Howard Bloch, *The Anonymous Marie de France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003). I discuss Bloch's assessment of Marie as an author in my essay "What happened to medievalists . . . ."
3. In the *Dance of Death* printed by Guyot Marchand in 1490, the author is not represented among the various social types dancing with Death, but appears in the last two woodcuts as the sage who overcomes mortality by meditating and writing about it. See *The Dance of Death Printed at Paris in 1490: A Reproduction Made from the Copy in the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, Library of Congress* (Washington D.C.: Library of Congress, 1945).
4. Bloch, *The Anonymous*, p. 315.
5. I owe this pun to Stephen Nichols, who originally wanted to title his own essay "The Names of the Rose."
6. On the *insolubilia* and the paradox of the liar, see Robert Blanché and Jacques Dubucs, *La Logique et son histoire* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2002), pp. 160–161.

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CHAPTER 1

AUTHORIAL RELAYS: CONTINUING CHRÉTIEN'S *CONTE DU GRAAL*

Matilda Tomaryn Bruckner

How should we talk about the medieval vernacular author when, as Anne Berthelot has reminded us, *l'écrivain*—the writer as metaphor of origin rather than the literally writing scribe—does not yet exist in twelfth-century vocabulary and still poses methodological problems in thirteenth-century usage?[1] Hence a diversion toward the adjectival mode in my title: "authorial relays" conjures up the image of successive figures who, like runners, pass along the baton of a shared text, which is thereby enabled to complete its trajectory from start to finish, beginning to end. Of course, when that image connects with the notoriously unfinished and repeatedly continued romance in which Chrétien de Troyes launched the Grail quest, we can appreciate how richly problematic such a relay race may become. By focusing on authors' names, I offer here a preliminary guide to help navigate the obstacles of the course.

If anonymity constitutes the degree zero of vernacular writing in the Middle Ages,[2] we must nevertheless recognize in the case of romance a dynamic play operating between anonymous and named authors. In *Medieval French Romance*, Douglas Kelly's comprehensive list includes approximately 120 items for the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; 59 names account for 76 works.[3] While in many cases the name comes with no *état civil* attached, the impetus to name authors is nevertheless remarkable in its persistence. Without the paratextual apparatus of modern authorship, romancers who emerge from anonymity do so when their names penetrate textual boundaries. Named by themselves or others in prologues and epilogues, less often *in medias res*, their proper names establish an intermediary space in which the extra- and intradiegetic meet. The presumption of a

historical referent built into the proper name (however unverifiable or fictional it may be) establishes, on the one hand, a relationship between literary artifact and social setting—the patrons and courtly public of romance—and authorizes, on the other, a particular reinvention of the romance's source material, guaranteed by a kind of signature. The author's proper name functions as a textual slot for accumulating literary capital or as a magnet for attracting varieties of intertextual play. And in this respect, all names are not equal, as *Perceval* and its continuations amply demonstrate.

What difference does a name make in this game of the author? Naming announces an identity, the identity of a narrator's *I* and the author's *he*, even as it signals their difference. The overlap simultaneously uncovers and covers over the space between inside and outside, keeps narrator and author in tandem throughout the text, although the third person author designated by name appears only fleetingly in comparison with repeated first person interventions. When more than one author's name lays claim to a particular romance, the apparent constance of the *I* may waver disconcertingly. For many modern readers of the continuations, their heterogeneous and contradictory accumulation of materials makes it difficult to see them as true continuations forming a coherent whole in relation to Chrétien's romance. And yet the manuscript tradition suggests that we should consider them in this light, not only to understand better how medieval writers put them together or how medieval readers read them, but also to grasp an underlying logic that plays on fragmentation and continuation in order to realize *achèvement* (in both its French and English uses). This logic is not without ramifications for other romances and other kinds of writing in the Middle Ages.[4] Since anonymous as well as named romancers participated in this process, close examination of their acts or omissions of authorial naming leads irresistibly into the labyrinthine logic so characteristic of Chrétien's Grail romance, both unfinished and continued.

Three continuators' names—Wauchier de Denain, Manessier, and Gerbert—appear in the manuscript tradition. We do not have a name for the first continuator who remains as anonymous as the other writing entities who generally operate below the level we consider worthy of the term "author." Within *Perceval* and its four continuations, we thus encounter the whole gamut of authorial identity from anonymous to the fully weighted proper name—but significantly not presented in that order, as summarized below:

(P) *Le Conte du Graal* by Chrétien de Troyes (typically designated as *Perceval*), ca. 1181–91

(1) First Continuation (also known as the Gauvain Continuation), in three redactions: Short, Long, and Mixed, late twelfth century

(2) Second Continuation (also known as the Perceval Continuation) by Wauchier de Denain, late twelfth century
(3) Third Continuation by Manessier, ca. 1214–27
(4) Fourth Continuation by Gerbert (de Montreuil?), ca. 1226–30; inserted between the Second and Third Continuations in manuscripts T and V, ca. 1250 (or later)

In the larger context of the many Grail romances that rewrite Chrétien's seminal text, we may be struck by a number of anomalies involving the continuations' form and authorship, which I need to point out briefly in order to explain why they have received relatively little attention and why they deserve much more. Emmanuèle Baumgartner has formulated a set of rules that seem to operate in romance from the thirteenth century on: all romances or new versions of the Grail will be in prose (except for the continuations); all Arthurian romances will be in verse, and there will be no *Gauvain en prose* [prose Gauvain], although Arthur's nephew will star in many verse romances.[5] Sophie Marnette's statistical and qualitative analysis of data on authors/narrators further confirms the tendency of Grail romances to opt for prose and anonymous authorship in order to be consistent with the type of truth claims associated with the now Holy Grail once Robert de Boron's version enters the arena.[6]

The logic of these analyses is persuasive but requires us to set aside the verse continuations as exceptional. Yet these exceptions deserve further analysis precisely because they accumulate anomalies in such an insistent fashion. Anomalous on three counts, the *Perceval* Continuations continue in verse, continue to name authors, and continue to associate Gauvain with the Grail quest (even if his role will gradually be reduced). What are the verse continuations telling us about Chrétien's romance and romance writing that may have been overlooked by other rewritings?

A quick overview of the specific acts of naming that both announce and efface the changes of gear from one author to another across the segments that connect *Perceval* and its four continuations will allow me to begin responding to that question and then speculate on how these positive or negative acts of authorial naming relate to the question of reading the letter, the problem that is so insistently staged in Chrétien's romance. If we consider the collection of names given, their differences in status or role obviously mark out three subsets of texts:

The first, *le vieux perceval*, as it is designated by one scribe's explicit,[7] remains in place as the initiating romance throughout the manuscript tradition.[8] In the prologue, "Crestïens" twice identifies himself as author, the repetitions forming a frame around the praise of his patron, as well as a

kind of fanfare to announce the tale he is about to tell. In its current context, the author's name has become a collection point, the point of intersection between previous romances signed by "Crestïens" or "Crestïens de Troies" and the continuations that take off in direct descent from his Grail story. In relation to other works, Chrétien's name anchors his romances to particular places and periods evoked by patrons (here Philippe de Flandre). Within the romance the public of connoisseurs recognizes in that proper name a certain kind of textuality and narrating voice. As the author of five romances, "Crestïens" has accumulated a thickness and weight incommensurate with that of his continuators, who will show their deference through silence as well as citation.

Second, the first two continuations, both of which date from the last part of the twelfth century,[9] form a unit insofar as they continue largely under the aegis of Chrétien's authorship and together reprise the zigzagging pattern of interlace he set up between the two heroes: the Gauvain Continuation is thus followed by the Perceval Continuation.[10] An authorial name surfaces briefly in the Second Continuation, when the interlace formula reappears to introduce the final episodes in the contribution of "Gauchier de Dondain." That is the name as given in manuscript E (Roach's base text).[11] Arguments for and against identification of the author as Wauchier de Denain have recently been decided again in his favor.[12] What we do with that identification outside the text and how we read it inside in relation to both the First and Second, as well as the Third and Fourth Continuations, will require further commentary.

Third, the last two continuations also form a set insofar as both Manessier and Gerbert are keen to situate their work in relation to the originating author: both refer to the issue of interruption and continuation, both seek to clarify where they started, and both look toward an ending. Gerbert's desire to write to the end was perhaps frustrated when his continuation was inserted between the Second and Third. Manessier, whose continuation closes the series in eight manuscripts, announces his name twice, as did Chrétien, who remains unnamed although clearly designated in an epilogue that arches back to the prologue by way of a genealogy of patrons:[13]

> El non Jehanne la contesse,
> Qu'est de Flandres dame et mestresse, . . .
> Ai en son non finé mon livre.
> El non son aiol començа. (42643–44, 42653–54)

> [In the name of Jeanne the countess who is lady and mistress of Flanders . . . in her name I have finished my book; it began in the name of her ancestor [great uncle].]

Most scholars accept the likelihood that Gerbert and Manessier worked independently of each other to pick up where the Second Continuation ended. Only manuscripts T and V include Gerbert, whose authorial intervention frames Perceval's return to Blancheflor and includes five repetitions of his name, as well as an acknowledgment that others had continued Chrétien's work before he did: "Gerbers, qui a reprise l'oevre / Quant chascuns trovere le laisse" (6998–99) [Gerbert who has taken up the work again when each other poet leaves it].

Manessier, by contrast, claims that he is the first to put a hand to the romance since it was begun.

> Ne puis ne fu des lors en ça
> Nus hons qui la main i meïst
> Ne du finner s'antremeïst. (42654–56)
>
> [Since then until now no one put his hand to it or undertook to finish it.]

Does he believe that Chrétien was the author of both the First and Second Continuations? They clearly form part of his model, just as they do for the Fourth Continuation. Manessier's assertion mirrors the written evidence, the absence of breaks which led the editor William Roach to conclude "that in all the manuscripts which have preserved both the First and the Second Continuations, the redactors and the copyists thought of the corpus as a single, continuous story."[14] None of the acts of authorial naming found in these manuscripts coincide with the textual moment of passing from one writer to another. The writing continues precisely to mask the shift in reference covered over by the narrating *I*, whose changing identity will only be signaled after the fact. This repeated technique of delayed authorial naming[15] seems designed first to fool the readers into missing the transitions and then to invite them back to find the place (if they can). The requirement to read forward and backward, to superimpose retroactively corresponding segments of narrative, are the very techniques of writing and reading already inscribed in Chrétien's *Perceval*, and they remain fundamental to the continuations. The succession and placement of authorial names play a key role in triggering and retriggering the system.

This initial view of the Big Bang originating in Chrétien's romance suggests a second phase of lumpy collective authorship. The gradual spreading out of authorial galaxies guarantees the continuing authenticity of the text, at least for medieval readers. But the identities given are decidedly uneven, unpredictable, and difficult to determine; they certainly do not account for all the writing gathered together. We need to return to the series of continuations in order to examine in greater detail continuities and

discontinuities, obvious as well as less obvious segmentation connected to authorial naming. My focus here, limited to the first two continuations, will give some sense of that play.

The Gauvain Continuation is anonymous, which suggests that the continuator has no borrowed authority to claim his status as writer, as Godefroi de Leigni alleged in the epilogue to Chrétien's *Chevalier de la Charrette*—hence the effacement of the first continuator's identity, at least on the surface level of the narrating voice. What is at stake in this authorial silence? While Chrétien was willing to allow another writer to finish a previous romance, Godefroi's decision to delay mentioning it until after the fact suggests that Chrétien's proper name in the prologue stakes a claim that should set his work apart. Like other medieval writers, Chrétien appropriates the already written, but the authorial character he projects also suggests someone who proudly lays claim to his own. The prologue to *Erec et Enide* plays on his name and fame "[t]ant con durra crestientez" [as long as christianity will endure].[16] The tone of the *Perceval* prologue is set by the opening figure of the sower, as well as the superlatives attached to "le meillor conte / Qui soit contez a cort roial" [the best story told in a royal court].[17]

Gerbert, writing about fifty years later, alludes to his predecessor's death and thus establishes his right to continue without impinging on the dead author's copyright, as understood in medieval terms.[18] By contrast, the First Continuation carries a sense of starting in close proximity to Chrétien, and then gradually moving away from him spatially and chronologically. This evolution appears in several guises in the letter of the text. In the first place, the Gauvain Continuation picks up immediately after Chrétien's last, unfinished sentence without in any way signaling a change of authorship. The eleven manuscripts that offer the First Continuation reflect successive stages of elaboration in which a kernel of episodes, established early in the process, remains constant, while variation is such that the editor has published three different states, the short, long, and mixed redactions. The play of reinvention among these versions gives a picture of Chrétien's authorial presence, at first strongly felt, then receding but always retaining the potential to be reactivated, as if Chrétien's authority operating at a further remove allows greater intervention from continuators, *remanieurs*, and scribes, but still keeps the canonical character of the group in evidence. Interestingly, it is only in manuscripts T and V, probably dated some time after 1250, that the gap as well as the continuity between Chrétien and the continuations have become certified sufficiently for the mixed redaction to add two references to "Crestïen." The first occurs when Gauvain arrives at the Grail Castle and the narrator refers back quite legitimately to Chrétien's praise of the fortress: "Crestïen en ai a garant" (I, 1234) [Chrétien is my guarantor].

The second reference, however, falls into the category of false claims. It occurs in the *Livre de Caradoc* and supports the description of an automaton not to be found anywhere in Chrétien: "tel costume avoit / Dont Crestïens mix le prisoit" (I, 4117–18) [such was its custom for which Chrétien prized it more]. It is not often that we catch a writer so blatantly making up his source. Perhaps "Crestïens" is serving here in the guise of authority rather than author, in circumstances in which there is little risk that readers might conflate his name with the narrator's *I*.

There has, however, been considerable confusion about where Chrétien's text ends and where the First Continuation begins. I have already quoted Roach's assessment of how much the manuscripts seem designed to finesse the transitions and support continuity. But scholarship has not been content to leave it at that. Our modern sense of what should belong to an author, what constitutes authenticity, has led to considerable polemics about what should be credited to Chrétien. When Maurice Wilmotte enters the fray in 1930 to weigh in against Paul Meyer's 1906 identification of Wauchier de Denain, the debate is still open on whether or not Chrétien should be given responsibility for the First and Second Continuations.[19] Wilmotte concedes parts of the First and all of the Second Continuation to "ces obscurs rimeurs" [these obscure rhymers],[20] while reserving most of the Gauvain Continuation for Chrétien's authorship at least by extension. Recognizing "le *faire* du grand maître" [the great master's touch][21] in much of the writing of the First Continuation, Wilmotte hypothesizes an anonymous continuator working from the original author's notes and following his characteristic élan.

No contemporary critic contests where Chrétien's romance ends, as attested by manuscripts that do not include any continuations. But the current certainty about where the First Continuation begins does not necessarily apply to where it stops. Common agreement follows the alternation of Chrétien's heroes and locates the beginning of the Second Continuation at the point where the narrative finally returns to Perceval. This is a reasonable choice inasmuch as it replicates the textual situation in which Wauchier de Denain chooses to identify himself, almost 12,000 verses later, by placing his proper name at the crossroads of the interlace:

> Einsint remest o lui Gauvains,
> Dont li contes ne plus ne mains
> Ne conte avant a ceste fois;
> Mais de Perceval lou Galois
> Porroiz le conte avant oïr,
> S'a gre vos vient et a plesir.

Gauchiers de Dondain, qui l'estoire
Nos a mis avant en memoire,
Dit et conte que Perceval, (IV, 31415–23)[22]

[Thus Gauvain stays with him, about which the story will tell no more at this point, but you can hear the story of Perceval the Welshman, if it pleases you. Wauchier de Denain, who has put the story forward into memory for us, recounts that Perceval . . .]

Corin Corley has argued, however, that the change in character does not necessarily indicate a change in author. Based on manuscripts, rhymes, repeated expressions, etc., he distinguishes a section that straddles the First and Second Continuations (vv. 4882–10268) and hypothesizes different authors operating across three rather than two continuations before Manessier.[23] In his view, Wauchier's part would begin after Perceval's visit to the Castle of the Magic Chessboard, that is, with the ensuing Hunt of the White Stag (episode 5 in Roach's analysis), the sine qua non of his return there.

My intention is not to debate the pros and cons of Corley's hypothesis but to take his analysis as a model for understanding why it is impossible to pin down exactly where Wauchier may have begun since he gives no indication of this at the moment of naming. In rereading the Second Continuation recently, I too found myself wondering if a different writer might be responsible for the opening series of short episodes that do not seem to know quite where they are headed. Perceval's meeting with the lady at the Chessboard Castle is the first major scene in the continuation and generates a whole series of adventures, as Perceval pursues his quest of the lady's favors. Later episodes seem to get better as they go along: they are more developed, get more out of the constituent elements, common matter and Chrétien matter. Another continuator or just a writer who improves? Or the story itself, as the narrator claims?

Que por l'estoire consomer
Fait l'an lou conte durer tant.
Assez i avroit plus que tant,
Qui tot vorroit an rime metre;
Mais li miaudres est an la letre,
Et miaudres vient adés avant,
Que li contes vet amandant. (Second Continuation, IV, 29202–08)

[One makes the story last so long to bring it to an end. For one who wanted to put everything into rhyme, there would be much more but the best part is in the writing, and better yet lies ahead as the story improves.]

Inevitably one has the sense of different hands at work—this is a collective enterprise of writing. There is as well an overwhelming impression of being

in the middle of proliferating stories that may and do expand at any point throughout the continuation. But there is also, at some level, a structure that holds the mass together and moves it forward, like the river of water moving through the Everglades: the concatenation of episodes tied together by Perceval's need to reach Mont Dolerous, to complete the Chessboard quest, and, above all, to return to the Grail Castle. These interlaced quests operate like a series of parentheses opened, piled up, recalled, deferred, and finally, progressively, closed, as the later episodes complete the structural impetus of the opening moves. How can we tease out of this mass what "Anonymous" (one person, two, or more?) and Wauchier de Denain may be responsible for? Should we try to tease apart what has been so assiduously written together, if we are trying to get a sense of what the continuation is about? In this section, the only instance of authorial naming highlights rather the open-ended interlacing of two heroes and identifies authorship with this shift between heroic identities and the fundamental impulse of writing characteristic of the ensemble.

But what of the name Wauchier de Denain: does it give any information with which to evaluate his role? As I indicated earlier, the proper name serves as a kind of collector at the interface of extra- and intradiegetic concerns. The trouble is, Wauchier de Denain is a name with very little content. As a translator of saints' lives, his authorial character has been variously defined as inconsistent with his role in the Second Continuation or perfectly compatible.[24] But even if the attribution is credited by modern scholars and may have been recognized by some medieval readers in his immediate social setting, it seems unlikely, given the variants that deform his name across the manuscript tradition, that most scribes or readers were able to identify the author or associate much with the name.[25] The possible referent of the proper name does not help us read the Second Continuation one way or another.

Reading the letter of this name metaphorically may be more promising. In this light, I suggest that the modesty that characterizes the act of naming at the interlace accords with the general character of the Second Continuation. I would locate that modesty in the deference shown to Chrétien's romance model, not only in its reprise of certain key elements from *Perceval*, but especially in the effort to ask through insistent narrative elaboration the most puzzling and unresolved questions left open by the originating author: What is the relationship between love and the Grail? How is Perceval's relationship to Blancheflor to be understood in light of his quest to return to the Grail Castle? Since there has been no return to Perceval in the Gauvain Continuation, no possible answers have as yet been assayed, except insofar as Gauvain has been allowed to reach the Grail Castle without changing his typically amorous character. The second continuator

has not tackled the issue directly, and we may wonder if he arrives at a definitive answer at all. In fact, I would suggest that it is the continuator here rather than Perceval who plays the role of the *nice*, the simpleton who asks the question over and over again but is not quite able to get to an answer. Is Wauchier's obtuseness a match for the consummate cleverness of Chrétien, who typically offers more questions and contradictions than answers? Let me explain how I understand the strategy of the *nice*.

Readers of the Second Continuation cannot fail to be struck by the prominence given to the Chessboard Castle adventure, along with the necessity to go to Mont Dolerous, in Perceval's highly dilatory efforts to return to the Grail Castle. The role of Mont Dolerous has some authorization from Chrétien's romance: it is one of the adventures announced at Arthur's court (4724), when the knights disperse in different directions, with only Perceval headed to the Fisher King's. So we may not be surprised that it is precisely the link with Mont Dolerous, reinvented after its role in the First Continuation, that marks the opening and closing moments of Wauchier's continuation (as well as the place for his signature). With the continuation thus anchored to its originating text, the bulk of the narrative is mapped out by the stages of the Chessboard adventure, which has no direct precedent in *Perceval* and bespeaks, from certain points of view, the imaginative excess of the continuation, its discontinuous difference. What I am calling Wauchier's modesty has struck other readers as the opposite—a blatant diversion from the sense of his predecessor's romance. For Laurence Harf-Lancner, who usefully identifies the basic module—hero meets fairy defended by giant[26]—which furnishes a narrative format for variation in six of the twelve episodes linked to the White Stag quest, "[c]e roman de Perceval n'est nullement un roman du Graal mais un long conte de fées" [[t]his Perceval romance is not at all a Grail romance but a long fairy tale].[27] From her perspective, Grail story and fairytale fail to coalesce.

And yet the narrative concatenations insist repeatedly on connections, even if the narrator fails to make explicit any reason for the links between Grail quest and Chessboard adventure. The tie-in is carefully reiterated when Perceval leaves the Chessboard Castle after receiving the favors promised by the lady. The lady herself puts Perceval directly on the "droit chemin" [right path] (28166) to the Fisher King's. Perceval promises a return to the Chessboard lady after his visit to the Grail Castle, just as he promised to return to Blancheflor earlier in the narrative. This doubling of promises may, in fact, be the signal to help explain what is going on with the fairytale diversion.

The puzzle of intertwined quests suggests that the puzzle of Perceval's relationship to love and Blancheflor has been displaced onto his adventure with the Chessboard lady. The continuator can thus experiment with

possible outcomes and keep Blancheflor safely on the side in a kind of holding pattern until the issue of Perceval's sexual involvements may be resolved in another context. Following the comic precedent set in Chrétien's romance by the Tent Maiden episode and the more courtly developments with Blancheflor, Perceval's erotic gear and potential are kept in good working order, on the back burner, so to speak, until his return to the Fisher King may open the way to working out how the love motivation and the Grail achievement might be connected in a romance that differs so substantially from the combination of love and prowess typical of Chrétien's previous romances.

Significantly, Perceval's pattern of failure, the unique feature of his character as hero first established at the Grail Castle, plays a key role in the initiation of his Chessboard adventure: he fails to win at chess against the magic board, he fails to keep the lady's dog and the white stag head, just as he fails to keep his focus on the Grail quest. Of course, these failures are important benefits for a continuator who wants to keep his narrative from rushing too quickly to an ending. But the association may have ramifications on other levels of meaning, inviting us to speculate about Perceval's ability to recuperate failure, or combine sexuality and Grail achievement.

In this respect, it is useful to recall Perceval's connections with Gauvain across the interlace of their entwined itineraries. In unraveling the puzzle of why the Chessboard adventure takes on such an important role here, we cannot fail to notice a small thread leading back to Chrétien's authorizing text that passes through Gauvain's adventures and furnishes a number of key elements that will be shifted to Perceval and revamped significantly by Wauchier. At Escavalon, Gauvain dallied with a lady, the sister of his host, who unfortunately turned out to be the daughter of the man he has been accused of killing. When attacked by the townspeople, Gauvain used a chessboard as shield, while the lady hurled chess pieces at the assaillants. This episode obliges Gauvain to set off on his own Grail Castle quest—versions of which appear in the various redactions of the First Continuation, along with complicated adventures that feature a seductive lady in a tent. Gauvain's reappearance in the Second Continuation, on his way to find Perceval and the Grail Castle, includes yet another amorous interlude.[28]

The pattern of these encounters and echoes sets up an expectation that Grail quests and love may have something in common, or at the very least are not exclusive (as they will definitely become once the thirteenth-century prose romances rewrite Chrétien's story). When Perceval successfully returns to the Magic Chessboard Castle and unambiguously receives the lady's favors, is the second continuator suggesting through his narrative deployment that the hero will be able to bring together the girl and the Grail?[29] But the *nice*, who may be the continuator rather than the no-longer

comic Perceval, still does not quite know how to articulate such a resolution. The Second Continuation's replay of Perceval at Biau Repaire left open the question of sexual relations between Perceval and Blancheflor, though there was a strong hint that they have already been initiated (22834–42). The narratorial ambiguity allows Wauchier the author to continue asking the questions through the architecture of his continuation: how it will end, how the dichotomy between Grail and girl, if it is indeed a dichotomy, can be resolved. We modern readers, doubtful of Wauchier's status, are not certain he knows where he is going and we are even less sure that he understands where Chrétien's romance might have ended. But in some sense, Wauchier's modesty as author leads him to replicate in his own way the unfinished character of the master text. He has remained faithful to Chrétien's tendency to maximize the tension of contradictions without eliminating them for the sake of reductive solutions.

Lack of resolution or the impossibility of resolution is another of the major issues left by Chrétien's romance. In that respect, the Second Continuation is strangely related to *Perceval*'s problematic ending in mid-sentence. We know *where* the Second Continuation ends because both Manessier and Gerbert take pains to signal retroactively that their continuations began at the moment at which Perceval put back together the two pieces of the sword, the preliminary test for getting answers to the questions added by the First Continuation.

> Manessier . . . l'a finé
> Selonc l'estoire proprement,
> Qui conmença au soudement
> De l'espee sanz contredit. (V, 42658–61)

> [Manessier, who began without contestation at the soldering of the sword, has finished it properly according to the story.]

> Gerbers, qui le nous traite et dite
> Puis enencha que Perchevaus
> Qui tant ot paines et travaus
> La bone espee rasalda
> Et que du Graal demanda
> Et de la Lance qui saignoit
> Demanda que senefioit . . . (I, 7008–14)

> [Gerbert, who tells it for us from the point where Perceval who had so much pain and trouble, resoldered the good sword and asked what the Grail and the Lance that was bleeding signified.]

But why did the second continuator stop there? We certainly find no answer in the text or the manuscripts, no explanation of the sort given

elsewhere: "he died" or "he gave the task to another writer." Wauchier's name placed at the interlace gave no explicit information on ending, although the placement at the Mont Dolerous episode insinuates a movement toward closure as the series of announced adventures are fulfilled. "Et Percevaux se reconforte" (32594) [And Perceval is comforted] is the last line of the Second Continuation. Did Wauchier finish? It does not seem so, since he is mid-scene even if he is not mid-sentence, as the two continuators read him by adding subordinate clauses. By describing Perceval's joy (32595–97), Manessier interprets the scene as indicating that the hero has successfully completed his quest and will now go on a post-Grail mop-up for about 10,000 verses. Gerbert, on the contrary, interprets the scene as requiring further effort on Perceval's part in order to bring together the two pieces of the sword without leaving even the tiniest gap, and thus finds authorization for a 17,000 line continuation.

As a result, the passage from the Second to the Third Continuation, or in manuscripts T and V from the Second to the Fourth to the Third Continuation, will take place with a sleight of hand—no narrator, no manuscript rubric will announce the shift until their authors speak up thousands of verses later. And in each case the transition will occur in the crucial scene at the Grail Castle, as if to look back each time to the name of the romance given in Chrétien's prologue, a title unlike any of his previous romances, connected not directly to the hero but to the enigmatic object that keeps requiring questions and returns. Did Wauchier stop in the midst of the Grail scene on purpose, unintentionally, by chance, *par aventure* carried by the logic written into Chrétien's master text and carried forward into the continuations?

In any case, it is clear that the continuator participates fully in the general impetus of the series and successfully mirrors the inherent invitation to continue already structured by Chrétien's own (un)ending. In the context of this elaborate textual edifice, the location of an author's name at the interlace, at the belated beginning of a return, constitutes a narrative gesture that points to the momentum of continuity and the continued uncertainty of ending sustained throughout this Grail romance in verse. The strategy of the *nice* who has understood all and nothing ultimately reveals the paradox of authorship that characterizes the entire structure formed by *Perceval* and its continuations—whose author is and is not Chrétien, whose authors are and are not individual continuators. In modern terms, we may clearly limit Chrétien's authorship to the originating and unfinished romance. But in terms of medieval practice, it is no less clear that Chrétien's initial setup continues to exert authorship throughout the cycle, as successive named and unnamed romancers write freely but still remain under his tutelage through repeated returns to their common model, its narrative material, as

well as its puzzles and questions. While the verse continuations retain a distinctive character that properly sets them apart within the context of Grail romances, the play of authorial naming examined here nevertheless demonstrates—through the shifting, sometimes hidden, always intertwined, identities that map their extended itinerary from Chrétien de Troyes to Manessier—how their collective enterprise may bring into sharper focus the complex nature of authorship functioning throughout medieval textuality.

Notes

1. Anne Berthelot, *Figures et fonction de l'écrivain au XIIIe siècle* (Paris: Vrin, 1991), pp. 19 and 28–31.
2. Roger Dragonetti, *Le mirage des sources, l'art du faux dans le roman médiéval* (Paris: Seuil, 1987), p. 9. Cf. Sarah Kay on authorial pseudonyms in "Who was Chrétien de Troyes?" *Arthurian Literature* 15 (1997): 1–35.
3. Douglas Kelly, *Medieval French Romance* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1993), pp. xiii–xxiii.
4. Alexandre Leupin has identified the fundamental and fundamentally contradictory impulses that build this immense textual edifice with what he calls "la logique de la faille" [the logic of the fault], a compelling image taken from the continuations themselves. "La faille et l'écriture dans les continuations du *Perceval*," *Moyen Age* 88 (1982): 237–269.
5. Emmanuèle Baumgartner "Les techniques narratives dans le roman en prose," in *The Legacy of Chrétien de Troyes*, ed. Norris J. Lacy, Douglas Kelly, and Keith Busby, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1987, 1988), 1: 168–169.
6. Sophie Marnette, *Narrateur et points de vue dans la littérature française médiévale: une approche linguistique* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1998), pp. 94, 114, 182, 199, 203. Robert de Boron's *Roman de l'estoire dou Graal*, written in verse but quickly prosified and pseudonymously expanded, requires that transition, in Sophie Marnette's view, by bringing out the profound contradiction between the subject of a Holy Grail, whose truth is connected to a monologic value system located outside romance, and named authors associated with verse romance who typically guarantee a truth built into the romance's own internal logic, as Michel Zink has described in "Chrétien et ses contemporains," *Legacy*, 1: 16, 18–20.
7. This is Guiot's version, manuscript A, which includes *Perceval* and the First and Second Continuations. For information on the manuscripts, see the introduction to William Roach's edition, *The Continuations of the Old French* Perceval *of Chrétien de Troyes, Volume I: The First Continuation, Redaction of Mss TVD* (Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society, 1965).
8. Only in manuscript K does a continuation appear without *Perceval*. *Perceval* appears without the Continuations in three manuscripts and four fragments.
9. According to Beate Schmolke-Hasselmann, *Der arturische Versroman von Chrestien bis Froissart* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1980), from *Perceval* to 1200, there is no clear evidence of Arthurian work in romance form, other than the First and Second Continuations.

10. They always appear together except in manuscript R (BnF, MS fonds français 1450) where *Perceval* and the First Continuation are integrated into a different cyclical structure with the *Roman de Brut* and Chrétien's other romances, and in manuscript K (Stadbibliothek 113) where the Second Continuation stands alone.
11. Roach, ed., *The Continuations of the Old French* Perceval *of Chrétien de Troyes, Volume IV: The Second Continuation* (Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society, 1971).
12. Roach, ed., *The Continuations of the Old French* Perceval *of Chrétien de Troyes, Volume V: The Third Continuation* (Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society, 1983), pp. xi–xii.
13. Two authors' names, Chrétien in the prologue and Manessier in the epilogue, compete for the traditional role of authorizing proleptically and analeptically the text thus framed (cf. the relationship between Chrétien and Godefroi de Leigni in *Le Chevalier de la Charrette*). Within the verse cycle, there are no other prologues or epilogues to give authors' names.
14. *Continuations*, IV, p. xvii.
15. Cf. Rupert Pickens on Robert de Boron and his *exordium a insinuatione* in "Histoire et commentaire chez Chrétien de Troyes et Robert de Boron et le livre de Philippe de Flandre," in *Legacy* 2:25 (see above n5).
16. *Les Romans de Chrétien de Troyes, I Erec et Enide*, ed. Mario Roques, Classiques Français du Moyen Age 80 (Paris: Champion, 1970), l. 26.
17. Chrétien de Troyes, *Le Roman de Perceval ou le Conte du Graal*, ed. William Roach, Textes Littéraires Français 71 (Geneva: Droz, 1959), ll. 63 and 65.
18. According to the God of Love's speech, the death of Guillaume de Lorris also works to legitimate Jean de Meun's authorial necessity in the *Roman de la Rose*. See *Le Roman de la Rose*, ed. Félix Lecoy, Classiques Français du Moyen Age 95, 3 vols. (Paris: Champion, 1966), vol. 2, 10531–10534, 10557–10560.
19. In Maurice Wilmote, *Le poème du Gral et ses auteurs* (Paris: Droz, 1930), see the chapter on "La part de Chrétien de Troyes dans la composition du poème."
20. Wilmote, *Le poème*, p. 58.
21. Wilmote, *Le poème*, p. 52.
22. Only manuscripts T and V localize the moment in the text with a *chi* (here) but then give alternate adverbs *avant* and *aprez*: "Gautiers de denet qui l'estoire a mis chi aprez (T) / avant (V) en memoire." V's *aprez* might suggest that the new author's work is only starting in the final episodes of the Second Continuation (which seems unlikely) but all the other manuscripts agree in using the expression *mettre avant en memoire*, which Wilmotte (*Le poème*, pp. 19–70) compares with Chrétien's *metre devant* in *Cligès* (4282): not a spatial location in the text but a movement in the mind, which links author/narrator and public: "*Nos* a mis avant en memoire." See Guy Vial, "L'auteur de la deuxième continuation du *Conte du Graal*," in *Mélanges d'études romanes . . . offerts à Monsieur Jean Rychner* (*Travaux de linguistiques et de littérature*, 16 [1978]:126–29): *metre avant en memoire* = "conter plus loin, poursuivre la narration de" [to tell further on, pursue the narration of] (529). Cf. some scholars use of "Pseudo-Wauchier" to designate the anonymous First Continuation.

23. Corin Corley, "Réflexions sur les deux premières Continuations de *Perceval*," *Romania* 103 (1982): 235: 58. See also Corley's book *The Second Continuation of the Old French Perceval: A Critical and Lexicographical Study* (London: the Modern Humanities Research Association, 1987), pp. 31–41.
24. Incompatible because too austere and humbly Christian (Wilmotte, *Le poème*, p. 111) or compatible given the variety of commissions a medieval writer might expect and a medieval audience might enjoy (Vial, "L'auteur," pp. 119–24). Ferdinand Lot suggests we read the name as a reference to an authority ("Les auteurs du *Conte du Graal*," *Romania* 57 [1931]: 136)—as "*Crestiens*" functioned in manuscript T. But where is authority with so little recognition?
25. Out of nine manuscripts, one omits it entirely and seven variations appear in the remaining eight. There is nevertheless a certain consistency for the first name: E: Gauchier de dondain; L: Gauciers de donaing; M: Gauchier de doudain; P: Gautiers de dons; S: Gauchier de dordan; TV Gautiers de denet; U: Gauchier de doulenz.
26. Laurence Harf-Lancner, *Les fées au moyen âge: Morgane et Mélusine, La naissance des fées* (Paris: Champion, 1984), pp. 371–372.
27. Harf-Lancner, *Les fées*, p. 367.
28. Gauvain reappears in Episodes 29–32 (the interlacing that furnishes the final delay in reporting Perceval's return to the Fisher King and the occasion of authorial naming). Gauvain's first adventure is marked by his amorous interplay with the Petit Chevalier's sister.
29. Cf. Lori Walters's reading in "The Image of Blanchefleur in MS Montpellier, BI, Sect. Méd. H 249," in *Les manuscrits de Chrétien de Troyes*, ed. Keith Busby, Terry Nixon, Alison Stones, and Lori Walters, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1993) 1:437–55.

CHAPTER 2

BORROWING, CITATION, AND AUTHORSHIP IN GAUTIER DE COINCI'S *MIRACLES DE NOSTRE DAME*

Margaret Switten

The *Miracles de Nostre Dame* (1214–1236) by Gautier de Coinci, a Benedictine monk from Northern France,[1] is one of the most celebrated collections of medieval Marian miracle tales in a vernacular language. It is unusual because it contains songs, that is, musical compositions, as well as stories.[2] Both a lyric and a narrative poet, Gautier draws upon several rich traditions. The position he stakes out with reference to these traditions determines his authorial stance and the nature of his enterprise. As is well known, Gautier's attitude toward these traditions is both favorable and critical: he writes *with* Latin miracle stories, hymns, and chants and *against* "courtly" narrative and lyric genres, demonstrating extensive knowledge of secular and sacred works and a determined effort to "convert" secular sources to sacred use. I focus here on basic techniques Gautier uses to achieve his goals. Foremost among these are borrowing and citation. Borrowing has often been mentioned with respect to Gautier, frequently with negative undertones, particularly with regard to the music. But Gautier does not merely borrow. He takes material at hand and boldly transforms it into something else: he transfers Latin into the vernacular; he cleverly manipulates the melodic borrowing known as *contrafactum*; he develops his arguments by citation and allusion. By reevaluating these techniques of transformation, I hope to provide a better understanding not only of how Gautier reaches his goal of "conversion," but also of how he uses borrowing and citation to define authorship within his text.[3]

The *Miracles de Nostre Dame* has an intricate structure, not entirely stable in the ninety-seven manuscripts, mostly from the late thirteenth and early

fourteenth centuries, that have preserved it in whole or in part. I base my discussion on the Koenig reconstruction, drawn from the main manuscripts, and use Koenig's system to refer to the miracles and songs.[4] The entire collection, some 36,000 lines of poetry, is divided into two books. Book I contains two prologues, a cycle of seven songs, and thirty-five miracle stories. The thirty-fifth story is the Saint Leocadia miracle, the only miracle that does not have a Latin source; following this miracle, three songs close book I. Book II contains one prologue, a cycle of seven songs, twenty-four miracle stories, and a series of epilogue pieces including the *Saluts Notre Dame* as well as a final song "Entendez tuit." Four short prayers then conclude the work. The miracle stories are the nucleus to which Gautier added songs, prologues, epilogues, and prayers. Arguably, Gautier is the first vernacular writer to attempt to create a unified collection of lyric and narrative poetry which, when he sends it to his friend Robert de Dive so that it may be copied and disseminated, he calls his "livre" [book] (epilogue, 97–111).[5]

Certain features of Gautier's program are clear from the outset. The first prologue of the first book (I Pr 1), informs us that his purpose is to extol the Virgin; he will be a vassal in Her service; the subject of his work will be Her miracles; his task will be to "translate," that is to "transfer," them from Latin into "rime et metre" [rhyme and meter] so that even those who do not understand Latin will learn how essential it is to serve Her. His own personal hoped-for reward is that Mary will be grateful for his service, which consists of making the miracles known, so that eventually he may reach paradise.

In this first prologue, Gautier does not speak of songs or music. These subjects are addressed in the second prologue to the first book (I Pr 2). After announcing that before opening "le grant livre" [the big book] from which, presumably, he will draw his stories, he wishes to sing, he explains the value of song, the types of song he will include, and exhorts all to listen to the way he sings about the Sweet Lady. This sequence of two separate prologues reflects an initial structural distinction: the songs will not be inserted into the miracles but will frame them. It is only in the prologue to the second book (II Pr 1) that telling miracle tales and singing are integrated.[6]

By his initial statement in I Pr 1 that his task is to put Latin stories into romance, Gautier signals the fact that borrowing undergirds his entire project. The *grant livre* to which Gautier refers as a source for his miracle stories has not come down to us, so we cannot know how much the tales were transformed, only that they were rewritten, cast into verse, and endowed with moralistic conclusions likely of Gautier's entire invention. But Latin stories were not his only sources. Although Gautier does not openly adopt and adapt complete vernacular texts, he adroitly exploits subtle techniques

of allusion and reference to stake out his various claims. In contrast to the Latin sources, we can recognize many of the vernacular sources, which allows us to examine Gautier's tactics.

The narrative genre to which Gautier makes most frequent reference is romance.[7] This is scarcely surprising; his work shares with romance the opening tactic of announced transformation of a Latin source or sources.

> A la loenge et a la gloire,
> En ramambrance et en memoire
> De la roïne et de la dame
> Cui je commant mon cors et m'ame
> A jointes mains soir et matin,
> Miracles que truis en latin
> Translater voel en rime et metre
> Que cil et celles qui la letre
> N'entendent pas puissent entendre
> Qu'a son servise fait boen tendre. (I Pr 1, 1–10)
>
> [To the praise and the glory / And in the memory / Of the queen and the lady / To whom I give my body and soul / Hands joined, evening and morning, / I wish to "transfer" miracles I find in Latin / Into meter and rhyme (i.e., into the vernacular) / so those who do not understand [Latin] letters / May understand / That it is good to be in her service.]

Romance is born of translation: it initially presents itself as the bringing of Latin bookish knowledge into the romance language. This is already a familiar topos in prologues from the early *romans d'antiquité* [romance of antiquity]. For example, Benoît de Sainte-Maure, *Roman de Troie* (1160–1170), tells us:

> E por ce me vueil travailler
> En une estoire commencer
> Que, de latin ou je la truis,
> Se j'ai le sens et se ge puis,
> Le voudrai si en romanz metre
> Que cil qui n'entendront la letre
> Se puissent deduire el romanz. (33–39)[8]
>
> [That is why I want to make every effort / To begin a story / Which, from the Latin in which I found it, / If I have the intelligence and the strength, / I intend to translate into romance / So that those who do not understand (Latin) letters / May find pleasure in the romance (vernacular) text.]

Chrétien de Troyes, just slightly later than Benoît de Sainte-Maure, uses a similar topos in his *Cligés*:

> Cest estoire trovons escrite,
> Que conter vos vuel et retraire,

En .I. des livres de l'aumaire
Mon seignor saint Pere a Biauvez.
De la fu li contes estrez . . . (18–22)[9]

[We find written the story / That I want to tell and relate to you, / In one of the books in the library / Of my lord Saint Peter of Beauvais. / From that book was taken the tale / That Chrétien made into this romance.]

Or again in *Perceval*, Chrétien explains that he will put into rhyme on the count's order the greatest story ever told in a royal court:

C'est li contes do greal,
dont li cuens li bailla lo livre. (64–65)[10]

[This is the tale of the grail / Whose book the count gave to him.]

In saying that he will put into romance stories found in a Latin book, Gautier redirects a known topos. He will neither provide knowledge as such nor mere pleasurable reading/listening to a public that does not know Latin. Instead and in contrast, he wishes to lead the public to service of the Virgin Mary; the redirection of the topos makes that distinction.

In Gautier's dedication to Mary as the source of his inspiration and the goal of his hopes, one might discern another romance intertext: Chrétien's *Lancelot*.[11] The celebrated *Lancelot* prologue dedicates the work to Marie de Champagne, rendering homage to her ("come cil qui est suens antiers" [as one who is entirely hers], line 4), roughly comparable to Gautier's I Pr 1. But we may have here a double subversion. Michel Zink has recently suggested another literary context for Chrétien's prologue, "celui de la littérature spirituelle" [that of spiritual literature].[12] Religious poets propose God as the true author of their works. Chrétien de Troyes may have subverted the topos "en lui donnant une coloration profane" [by giving it a profane coloration].[13] After examination of a religious work dedicated to Marie de Champagne and probably composed at her court, along with other works that develop the theme of divine poetic inspiration, Zink concludes with a reference to Gautier, proposing that in his II Pr 1, when Gautier states the following, he may be subverting Chrétien's subversion:

Mais la dame pour cui g'i met
Ma povre cogitacïon
Seit bien et voit m'ententïon (102–104)

[But the lady for whom I put into this work / My poor intelligence / Knows and sees well my intention.]

Although the idea is not identical to Chrétien's prologue, "le mouvement et les mots y sont, au point que l'on soupçonne cette fois une substitution de la Vierge Marie à la comtesse de Champagne et la transposition édifiante du célèbre hommage de Chrétien" [the same gesture and words are used here, which makes one suspect that the Virgin Mary replaces the countess of Champagne, and that Chrétien's famous homage is tranposed into edification].[14] Such a maneuver, typical of Gautier's approach to citation and allusion, allows him to turn vernacular narrative away from praise of the lady *back* to praise of Our Lady.

But this redirection demands a reeducation of the public, particularly a public attracted to satirical tales such as those about Renart and his cohorts. In II Pr 1, Gautier affirms the superiority of his miracles, even considered simply as entertainment:

> Pus delitant sont si fait conte
> As bonnes gens, par saint Omer,
> Que de Renart ne de Romer
> Ne de Tardiu le limeçon. (46–49)
>
> [These tales are more entertaining / To good people, by saint Omer, / Than those about Renart and Romer / Or about Tardif the snail.]

The passage could almost be a reply to the prologue to Branche IV of the *Roman de Renart*:

> Or me convient tel chose dire
> Dont je vos puisse fere rire;
> Qar je sai bien, ce est la pure,
> Que de sarmon n'avés vos cure
> Ne de cors seint oïr la vie. (1–5)[15]
>
> [But I want to tell you something / That can make you laugh / For I know for pure truth / That you do not care to hear / A sermon or a saint's life.]

And in another passage from II Pr 1, that reminds one of a famous passage from Chapter VI of the late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century romance *Aucassin et Nicolette*, in which Aucassin proclaims himself happy to go to hell for love of Nicolette because hell is where all the beautiful people are, Gautier informs us that great lords who commission or compose "les bordes qui . . . font rire" [tall stories that make people laugh] (194) will go to hell along with those who listen to liars (196–311). But those who listen to Gautier and reject frivolous story-tellers can be assured of paradise.

While romance writers routinely affirm that the tales they tell are superior to those of others,[16] Gautier's allusions have a precise purpose: to

criticize the current tastes of those who do not know Latin, and sometimes of those who do, as a crucial step in reorienting their reading habits toward spiritual enrichment.

The few brief examples I have brought forward can suggest that Gautier manipulates romance allusions in different ways to define his authorial goals. He adopts topoi which he then subverts in order to situate his work both within and in opposition to narratives familiar to his intended audience. But he directly criticizes his public through references to those narratives most contrary to his enterprise.

If romance allusions serve to define Gautier's authorial purpose, it is yet the nuanced presentation of himself as a lyric poet/composer that most fully determines his author persona. In what ways, then, do Gautier's references to lyric themes and techniques participate in his self-representation?

At the outset of I Pr 1, when Gautier describes himself as a vassal of his Lady stating that he wishes to enhance the glory

> De la roïne et de la dame
> Cui je commant mon cors et m'ame
> A jointes mains soir et matin (3–5)
>
> [Of the queen and lady / To whom I commend my body and my soul, / Hands joined every evening and every morning]

he situates himself immediately within a familiar lyric tradition (one has only to think of Bernart de Ventadorn's classic statement: "Mas jonchas, ab col cle, / vos m'autrei e.m coman" [Hands joined, head bowed, / I give and commend myself to you]).[17] Gautier will pay homage to his Lady; he will be Her "man." This image has a rich ambiguity that suits Gautier's purpose admirably because of the intertwining of sacred and profane: the joining of hands is both a gesture of homage and a gesture of prayer.

The title of this work, *Les Miracles Nostre Dame*, announces clearly the identity of the lady. Yet because it is the transfer of "feudal" terminology to the religious sphere that led to the expression *Notre Dame*, the word *dame* also recalls the secular lady of courtly lyric, allowing Gautier to play ambiguously on secular lyric traditions in order to convert *ma dame* to *Notre Dame*.

Service to the lady permeates the entire work: just as serving the secular lady leads the poet to the supreme "good" (paradise, to some troubadours); just as the secular poet's reward is the lady's acceptance of him and his work; just as the secular poet claims to be inspired by his lady—just so does Gautier seek his reward from the Virgin, Our Lady, and is inspired and taught by Her:

> Por qu'ai ceste matere emprise,
> A traitier si bien la m'apregne

Que boen essample aucuns i pregne
Et qu'ele gre m'en daint savoir.
Autre loier n'en quier avoir. (I Pr 1, 16–20)

[Since I have undertaken to work on this subject / May she teach me so well how to treat it / That it may furnish a good example / And that she may be grateful to me for it. / No other reward do I seek.]

These lyric references provide a kind of subtext or intertext, a set of ambiguous images upon which the poet can draw. But Gautier addresses one important lyric theme directly in order to reject it: suffering. At the end of I Pr 2, he states:

Qui que vos chant chançons polies
De risées et de folies,
Je ne veil pas chanter tex chants,
Car trop i a pleurs et deschans:
L'ame souvent pleure et deschante
Dou chanteür qui tex chans chante.
Qui l'anemi velt enchanter
De la grant dame doit chanter
Dont jor et nuit le angle chantent.
Dyable endorment et enchantent
Tout cil qui chantent sen doz chant. (63–73)

[No matter who sings to you polished songs / Made of jokes and twaddle, / I do not want to sing such songs, / For they contain too much weeping and wailing: / The soul of the singer who sings such songs / Often weeps and wails. / He who wants to enchant the Enemy / Must sing about the great lady / About whom night and day the angels sing. / The devil is lulled to sleep and enchanted / By all those who sing her sweet song.]

In a typical concluding flourish, Gautier plays on "chant" to emphasize his point. The word "polie" suggests the refinement of many troubadour songs and the polishing and repolishing they claim to bring to their compositions. But the value of the polishing is immediately denied by the characterizations "risées" [jokes] and "folies" [twaddles], the latter suggesting perhaps the notion of *fol'amor* [foolish love]. Lyric poets weep and wail; their refined techniques lead only to suffering. Gautier will not sing that type of song, diabolical in its intention and result. Instead, he will sing of the "grant dame" as do the angels in order to rout the devil. The implication, though it is not stated outright, is that *his* kind of singing will not lead to endless tears but to endless joy.

It will lead to endless joy because he will tell the truth instead of engaging in technical virtuosity. In II Pr 1, Gautier makes an important

distinction between the plain, unvarnished truth he intends to convey and the glittering but false language of the poets.[18] Following Saint Jerome, he claims, "Que simplement la veritez / Vaut milz a dire rudement / Que biau mentir et soutilement" [That it is better to say coarsely / The simple truth / Than to utter handsome and subtle lies] (II Pr I, 60–62). This is followed by another revealing assertion "Plus veil enssivre le prophete / Que je ne face le poete" [I prefer to follow the prophet / Rather than the poet] (65–66) which leads to an affirmation of the importance of biblical sources and a rejection of Latin poets such as Lucan, Juvenal, or Virgil (68–70). Simply to please the public with carefully wrought and beautiful verses is not his goal. He seeks greater substance and greater depth ("Mielz vaut li grains ne fait la paille" [The wheat is worthier than the chaff] 86). The references here are specifically to Latin poets; but many vernacular poets sought to be admired for their skill. Gautier's argument proceeds to a back-handed modesty topos, which is in fact a pointed critique of secular emphasis on versification, particularly on infinite varieties of rhymes:

> Vous grant seigneur, vous damoysel,
> Qui a compas et a cisel
> Tailliez et compassez les rimes
> Equivoques et leonimes,
> Les biauz ditiez et les fiaus contes
> Por conter as roys et as contes,
> Por Dieu, ne m'escharnissiez pas
> Se je ne di tot a compas.
> N'ai pas les mos toz compassez.
> Se de biau dire me passez,
> Avoir n'i doi honte ne blasme. (II Pr 1, 89–99)
>
> [You great lord, and you young squire, / Who in a perfectly measured manner and with a chisel / Crafts and measures out rhymes / Equivocal and leonin / Elegant poems and deceitful tales / For the ears of kings and counts / By God, don't deride me / If I don't say everything perfectly. / My words are not expertly crafted. / If you surpass me in beautiful speech / I should have neither shame nor blame.]

Gautier should not be blamed if he does not seek refinements of the rime. His mission is to tell the truth about his lady in simple words where the "grain" [the wheat] is more important than the "paille" [the chaff]. The irony is that Gautier was in fact a skilled versifier who shone precisely in the manipulation of rhymes. And he was not unaware of his skill. Indeed, he concludes I Pr 1 by affirming it:

> La mere Dieu, qui est la lime
> Qui tout escure et tout eslime,

Escurer daint et eslimer,
Por ses myracles biau rimer,
La langue Gautier de Coinsi,
Qui por s'amor comence einsi. (325–330)

[The Mother of God who is the file / That sharpens and files everything / Deigns to sharpen and file / —So he may rhyme her miracles beautifully— / The language of Gautier de Coincy, / Who, for her love, begins in this manner.]

The twist is that Gautier is not responsible for creating beautiful verses; the Virgin is.

The modesty topos and unvarnished language are linked to a further development intended to justify the activity of composing verses and even singing by a monk. According to Gautier, slanderers criticize him for undertaking such activities (II Pr 1, 100).

N'est pas ordre, ce vont disant
Par derriere li mesdisant,
M'entente mete a rimoyer,
Mais petit pris leur groignoier (113–116)

[It is not right—this is what / Slanderers say behind my back— / That I devote myself to rhyming, / But I don't care much for their grumbling.]

In the above verse, the term *mesdisant* suggests the *lauzengier* [slanderers] of the troubadour and subsequently romance traditions. Gautier insists that praising the Virgin is eminently appropriate:

Noir moigne et blanc et gris et bai,
Et tempre et tart, soir et matin,
Et en roumans et en latin,
Doivent loer la virge monde
Par cui Dex a mondé le monde: (120–124).

[Monks in black, white, brown, and grey, / Early and late, night and day, / In Romance (vernacular) and in Latin, / Must praise the pure virgin / By whom God purified the world.]

Some troubadours and jongleurs were monks, and there exist even poems debating the superiority of monks or knights as lovers. For a monk to compose is thus not unheard of. Gautier appears to be seeking a way to justify making songs of his own from within the monastery, separating himself from monks who become jongleurs, and travel about the world.

Indeed, Gautier attacks what is sometimes considered a jongleur repertory, and his criticism of the concoctions of jongleurs parallels his attack on

the *Roman de Renart*.[19] In I Pr 2, he briefly criticizes the singing of "caroles" (27).[20] In II Pr 1, such criticism is much more developed. Clerics should praise the Virgin instead of singing profane songs such as the pastourelles whose stock figures are quoted to express disdain. "De Tyebregon et d'Emmelot / Laissons ester les chançonnetes, / Car ne sont pas leurs chanchons netes" [Of Tyebregon and Emmelot / Let us not sing the ditties, / Because these songs are dirty] (324–326). Singing about "Maret" and "Maroye" will lead straight to hell (328–335). One should never abandon "la dame esperitable" [the spiritual lady] for these "garces" [sluts] and "ribaudes" [whores] (340–341), nor turn from Marie to Marot (381–386).[21] Gautier calls on monks to leave aside "les chans qui rien ne valent" [the songs that are worthless] (363) and sing "les chans piteuz et doz / Et les conduis de Nostre Dame" [merciful and sweet songs / And *conducti* (sacred songs in Latin) of Our Lady] (366–367). Monks can and do sing, but their singing must be directed toward praise of Mary and the word of God, eschewing the "chans de lecheries" [the songs of lust] (350). By extension, that is what Gautier will himself do.

While Gautier refers to singing in the prologues to his books, he does not there present himself specifically as a trouvère. This he does in the important miracle about Ildefonsus (I Mir 11). For Gautier, as later for Alfonso the Learned, king of Castile and León and author of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, Ildefonsus is a crucial figure. He loved and honored the Virgin; he was both a father of the church and the author of a book dedicated to the Virgin, composing for her, among other things, "mainte sequence et mainte hymne" [many sequences and hymns] (I Mir 11, 24). Gautier specifies that the book was gratefully received by the Virgin to whom Ildefonsus had commended himself, just as he hopes his own book will be received (I Mir 11, 2191–2195). At the close of the Ildefonsus miracle, Gautier recapitulates themes of the prologues presenting the Virgin as an inexhaustible source of inspiration whose "escrivainz" (2301) he aspires to be.[22] Rejecting secular poets who write for fame and glory, he proclaims:

> . . . Car troveres ne sui je mie
> Fors de ma dame et de m'amie
> Ne menestrex ne sui je pas. (2315–2317)
>
> [For I am not a trouvère / Except for my lady and my love / And I am not a minstrel.]

By thus recalling his prologues and making the point that he is a trouvère but unwilling to be counted among the ordinary trouvères, Gautier links his authorial persona as the "trouvère of his Lady" to the prestigious model of Ildefonsus.

If Gautier thinks of himself as a trouvère, does he present himself as a composer as well as a singer of songs? Most critics are willing to attribute the song texts to Gautier; melodic composition is less willingly recognized. Based on the fact that melodic sources can be located for many of Gautier's melodies, his songs are more usually described as new poems set to borrowed melodies. Because of Gautier's use of *contrafacta*, some critics tend to deny him musical originality.[23] Kathryn Duys has pointed out that: "Gautier makes no explicit statement regarding the authorship of the songs in the MND [Miracles de Nostre Dame]; he merely states that he wants to sing."[24] But composing was not entirely distinct from singing in the time of Gautier. Further, *contrafactum* strictly defined means substituting one text for another without substantially changing the music, and Gautier's procedure can differ considerably from that description. And, finally, Gautier does, especially in his songs, use a terminology that would suggest his own invention. His musical "borrowing" seems to reflect a technique similar to textual "borrowing." Let us take a closer look.

The words Gautier uses to speak of his role as poet and, potentially, musician include expressions such as *planter* [to plant], or *joncier* [to strew], "florir," [to embellish] and "enflorer" [to embellish] (I Pr 2,18, 32–33, 44), in addition to the main verb *chanter* and terms associated with it.[25] At the beginning of I Pr 2, Gautier asserts:

> . . . Ainz que plus lise, veil chanter.
> En cest livre volrai planter
> De lius en lius chançons noveles
> De Nostre Dame mout tres beles . . . (17–20).
>
> [Before reading further, I want to sing. / In this book I would like to plant / Here and there beautiful / New songs about Our Lady.]

The notion of planting leads naturally to flowers "Tout cest livre volrai joncier / Et florir d'odorans floretes" [I would like to strew and embellish this entire book / with sweet-smelling flowers] (32–33).[26] If the Virgin gives him the courage, "Des floretes de mon prael, . . . / Tout enflorer volrai cest livre . . ." [With the flowers from my own meadow / I would like to embellish this whole book] (42 and 44). The words "de mon prael" [from my own meadow] suggest that he will have "grown" the songs that are planted in his work. Does this mean that he will compose both words and music? Since the passage is prefaced by the word "chanter" (17) and since, as I have suggested, the separation we now adopt between words and music was not necessarily operative in the Middle Ages, one may well assume that Gautier intended to "grow" both words and music in his garden.

The passage under discussion may be compared to the beginning of the *Roman de la Rose ou de Guillaume de Dole* by Jean Renart, a romance context slightly different from the ones discussed above. It is not possible to know which of the two works, miracles or romance, came first. If one accepts recent arguments by John Baldwin, one may date Renart's *Rose* to around 1209, placing it slightly earlier than the *Miracles de Nostre Dame*.[27] With respect to the joining of songs and narration, miracles and romances are both avant-garde compositions in a thirteenth century that we now understand as characterized by a rich array of citation techniques.[28] Beyond the subject matter, secular on the one hand, religious on the other, the main differences between the works are: (1) Renart quotes parts of song texts within his narrative while Gautier includes entire songs but not within the narrative, and (2) in the one manuscript containing Renart's *Rose*, there is no music, whereas a large number of Gautier manuscripts have music. The two authors use different metaphors to speak of the songs in their works. Renart draws on textile imagery, saying that his romance will be ". . . brodez, par lieus, de biaus vers" [embroidered in some places with beautiful verses] (14), while Gautier speaks of a garden. Renart's textile imagery and the notion that the weaving will be so skillful that it will seem to everyone "Que cil qui a fet le romans / Qu'il trovast toz les moz des chans, / Si afierent a ceuls del conte" [That he who composed the romance / Might have invented all the words of the songs / So well do they fit those of the tale] (27–29) indicates that the songs do indeed come from somewhere else but the clever way they are "embroidered" will make it *seem* that they are original compositions. Renart clearly denies authorship of the songs. Gautier's garden imagery, in contrast, allows for the possibility of his own cultivation. His assertion "Tout cest livre volrai joncier . . ." (32), quoted above, immediately follows mention of the "caroles / Dou parage de Ronquerolles" [*caroles* (social dances) / From the vicinity of Ronquerolles] (28–29). Since in Renart's *Rose*, "caroles" and "Ronquerolles" are also linked by rhyme (550–551), one may argue that Gautier is here alluding to the romance, if the earlier date for Renart's work is accepted. Gautier has been chiding those who fall asleep and begin to snore, "roncier," when listening to sermons; they would, it seems, prefer *caroles*. Then come the verses: "Por eus tolir tout leur roncier, / Tout cest livre volrai joncier / Et florir d'odorans floretes" [In order to draw them away from snoring / I would like to strew and embellish this entire book / With sweet-smelling flowers] (I Pr 2, 31–33). The juxtaposition "roncier" / "joncier" indicates that Gautier intends to replace snoring by the pleasurable perfume of flowers. Arguably, by extension, he repudiates the kind of profane lyric insertion used by Jean Renart. Is this rejection of the kind of citation used by Renart also a rejection of his method? Can we understand that Gautier is

not merely weaving the borrowed songs into his text but creating something new?

To investigate further this question, let us turn to the word *chanter*, and associated terms.[29] Gautier uses the word *chanter* in the singular and in the plural. The plural usage is usually intended to convey the importance of singing for monks (see above). It is the duty of monks to praise the Virgin (II Pr 1, 321–323); they should not sing worthless songs but rather "les chans piteuz et doz / Et les conduis de Nostre Dame" [merciful and sweet songs / And *conducti* (sacred songs in Latin) of Our Lady] (366–367). If this development toward the end of II Pr 1 serves to legitimize Gautier's singing as a monk, before closing his prologue, he returns to the first person: "Talens me prent que de li chant / Et novel dit et novel chant" [I desire to sing about her / A new poem and a new song] (395–396). His endeavor is placed in a communal context but stands out from it. Religious music was a part of daily life for the monks. But in the Chant tradition, at least, monks did not compose so much as they learned to perform songs and integrate them into their lives. Thus Gautier seems to be negotiating a position from which he as a monk can justify making *new* songs of his own from within the monastery.[30]

The importance Gautier attaches to his own singing is clear from the multiple uses of the singular, *je chante*, as we have seen in the prologues. In the troubadour/trouvère tradition, *chanter* frequently occurs in the first stanza of a poem, the "prologue," as it were, explaining the agenda of the song. There, it can be understood as almost synonymous with making or composing: not until the later Middle Ages, as I mentioned above, was composition clearly distinguished from performance. When Bernart de Ventadorn opens with the statement "Non es meravelha s'eu chan / melhs de nul autre chantador," [It is no wonder if I sing / Better than any other singer][31] he is arguably thinking more of the quality of his song than of the quality of his singing. Several of Gautier's songs include in the first stanza *je chante* or *je veux chanter* [I sing or I want to sing] (I ch 3, I ch 4, I ch 6, I ch 8, II ch 4, II ch 5, II ch 7), or an expression such as *dire son* [to sing a song] (I ch 6, I ch 9). On two occasions, he adopts the verb *faire* which would more specifically refer to composition: "D'autre dame ne d'autre damoisele / Ne ferai mais se Dieu plaist, dit ne son" [About no other lady or damsel / Will I make (compose)—if it please God—a poem or a melody] (I ch 4, 8–9) and "Chascun an fas de la virge sacree / un son nouvel . . ." [Every year I make (compose) about the holy virgin / A new song] (II ch 7, 5–6). Singing, therefore, is arguably for Gautier a creative act.

But it is creative in a medieval sense that included incorporating the work of others. As we have seen, borrowing and citation are conspicuous in Gautier's work—probably more conspicuous for his contemporaries than

for us, and the melodic borrowings are so intricate that ferreting out the details cannot be attempted here.[32] The important point for this discussion is that Gautier does not *merely* borrow: he reshapes, restructures, and combines, so that the end result is uniquely his own. This phenomenon is particularly important for the songs.

Three general remarks can be made about these songs. First, so far as we can judge in the present state of our knowledge, borrowing and citation are less widely used in the group of seven songs that open book I of the *Miracles* than in the seven songs that open book II, or in the concluding song "Entendez tuit." As the work develops, borrowing techniques are intensified. Second, for the centrally placed Saint Leocadia series of three songs, a more complex approach to borrowing has special meaning, as we shall see. Third, from a somewhat different angle, the sheer range of musical and poetic borrowing and citation in Gautier is remarkable. He refers to the trouvère *chanson*, to numerous vernacular refrains, to *organum* and the *conductus*, both in Latin, and to the *motet*. *Organum, conductus* and motet are polyphonic compositions cultivated in Gautier's time by what is known as the Notre Dame School of composers in Paris. The *conductus*, the subject matter of which was frequently the Virgin, held special appeal for Gautier, as his numerous references to the *conduis Nostre Dame* attest. This genre underwent spectacular development in Paris from ca. 1160 to ca. 1240. During the thirteenth century, the motet became a pre-eminent form of polyphonic music. It incorporated elements of the vernacular, demonstrating a jostling of different styles and languages not wholly unlike what we find in Gautier's work. Gautier's easy familiarity with the fashionable contemporaneous trends in song making, both in Paris and in the provinces, gave him access to a vast reservoir from which he drew his citations.

The most straightforward borrowing technique is *contrafactum* in the narrow sense: a melody is exactly borrowed from another song (I ch 8; II ch 4). In these cases, the melody serves as a clear reference to a trouvère song that usually undergoes textual reorientation, as both Anna Drzewicka and Kathryn Duys have pointed out.[33] A more complicated technique is the borrowing of a melody that refers to a trouvère song, but then reconfiguring the song by adding a refrain or refrains not in the original song but taken from elsewhere. The *chanson* is thus converted into a hybrid genre similar to the *chanson à refrain* or the *chanson avec des refrains* (II ch 5; II ch 7). Still further complications can be introduced by what might be called double *contrafactum*: the use of a melody that has served for both sacred and profane compositions, constituting what Ardis Butterfield has described as "a reversion to piety of a religious text that had been converted into secularity,"[34] a tactic not unlike the double subversion noted above with reference to Chrétien's *Lancelot*.

It is not possible here to enter into the details of these different techniques. One illustration will serve to demonstrate the imaginative reconfiguration of melodies and texts that characterize Gautier's borrowing. Let us take II ch 7, "Ja pour yver, pour noif ne pour gelee" [Never for winter, snow, or frost]. (See appendix 1). The melody of this song is borrowed from a *chanson* by Blondel de Nesles ("Li plus se plaint d'amours mès je n'os dire" [Many complain about love, but I do not dare to speak]). This melody is more or less exactly taken over; thus the allusion would likely have been clear to Gautier's public. Then the song is reoriented in two ways: first thematically, second generically. Since in Gautier's stanza 1 the expression "la dame honouree" [the honored lady] replaces "ma dame" [my lady] of Blondel's song, it is clear that Gautier will substitute the Virgin for the lady to give the thematics of love a spiritual meaning. Generically, Gautier adds five different known refrains, selected from "popularizing" materials, chiefly dance songs, to transform a *chanson* into a *chanson avec des refrains* [song with refrains].[35] Two of the refrains, the first and the last, appear in the Renart's *Rose*. These refrains are textually and, to a degree, melodically integrated into Gautier's design. The thematics of love characterizes both refrains and stanzas, but because refrain and stanza belong to different poetic registers, they bump up against each other, as it were, in a series of sometimes jarring thematic shifts. The first stanza, for example, moving in the direction of spirituality is suddenly followed by a jaunty, secular refrain on the pains of love. From the standpoint of versification and structure, each refrain is linked to the preceding stanza by at least one rhyme sound. Further, in the Soissons manuscript,[36] the arrangement of refrains underscores the verse structure of the poem. Stanzas 1–4 are grouped two by two by rhyme sounds (exclusive of refrains), an arrangement known as *coblas doblas*, and the same refrain is used for each group of two stanzas: refrain I for stanzas 1–2, refrain II, for stanzas 3–4. Stanzas 5–7 have different rhyme sounds for each stanza, thus *coblas singulars*, and there is a different refrain for each stanza, refrains III–V. Musically, the refrains through stanza 5 share some melodic contours with the *chanson* melody borrowed from Blondel de Nesles, and a G tonality. One could imagine that Gautier selected the refrains partly because of such similarities. However, the last two refrains shift tonal focus to close on F (with a B [flat] clearly indicated in the manuscripts). There is a jarring musical effect corresponding to different poetic registers. Further, one may posit the kinds of rhythmic differences between refrains and stanzas that are usually considered to pertain to dance and *chanson* repertories: dances are thought to have been strongly rhythmic whereas *chanson* melodies are unmeasured. The strikingly opposed rhythmic characteristics of *chanson* and refrain, as well as the slightly discordant melodic conclusion may have been intended to underscore the contrasting types of song Gautier has made into a single

composition. Refrains and *chanson* are welded together to create a new song the inner tensions of which, poetic and musical, held in check by a tight structure, reflect Gautier's desire to bring his entire public to the service of the Virgin. No aspect of secular song will be left out. One could argue that the prominent presence of refrains used also by Jean Renart underscores the idea expressed above that Gautier repudiates the kind of lyric insertion used by Renart. In "Ja por yver," however, it is less a question of repudiation than of redirection. The last refrain makes this point and neatly ties up the argument. For the most part, the texts of the refrains are unchanged, but Ardis Butterfield has pointed out a telling substitution in the concluding refrain: "Mère Dieu" [Mother of God] replaces "amie" [beloved][37]—just as "la dame honouree" had replaced Blondel's "ma dame" in the first stanza. Both dance song and courtly song are "converted." Juxtaposing two worlds, clearly demarcated by thematic, structural, and melodic tensions, Gautier thus exploits techniques of borrowing and citation to make his project all-inclusive.

In Gautier's work, citation does not stop with borrowing material from others. Gautier also borrows from himself, using the technique of self-citation. This is perhaps the most original of his manipulations and deserves a close examination. It engages the Leocadia songs and the first and the last song in the *Miracles*.

The Saint Leocadia songs close book I and, in the main manuscripts, mark the midpoint of the work. The story of Saint Leocadia is intimately bound up with the composition of the *Miracles de Nostre Dame*. It is related in the only miracle that is not taken from a Latin source (I *Mir* 44) and further elaborated in the songs following the miracle. The stages of the story of Saint Leocadia that are important for our discussion can be briefly summarized. The priory of Vic possessed relics of Saint Leocadia. In 1219, while Gautier was composing his book, the devil appeared to him and, angered at being described as evil, swore revenge. Gautier forgot the vision. But the devil took vengeance by making Saint Leocadia's relics, and with them a statue of the Virgin Mary, disappear. Gautier was plunged into feelings of despair and guilt and could no longer write. Four days later his prayers to the Virgin Mary were answered; the relics were retrieved from the river Aisne where they had been discarded. At that spot, the waters began to heal the sick, a cause for jubilant celebration. Leocadia had also been described as having performed a miracle for Saint Ildefonsus in the story devoted to him (I *Mir* 11, 24). She links Gautier and Ildefonsus. Not only did she perform a miracle for Gautier as she had for Ildefonsus centuries earlier, but her relics were brought to his priory, after a period of turmoil in Toledo (I *Mir* 11, 1739, 1774 ff).[38] Gautier even claims to have Ildefonsus's Leocadia relic, the piece of her veil cut from her shroud when she arose from her

tomb to tell Ildefonsus how much the Virgin appreciated his work on her behalf. Thus the Leocadia miracle and songs are not only bound up with the actual composition of the *Miracles*; they are powerfully linked to the authority Gautier draws from the Ildefonsus model.

This relation is expressed in musical terms through self-citation of melodies. The melody of the first song in the *Miracle* collection, I ch 3, "Amors qui set bien enchanter" [Love who knows well how to enchant], which immediately follows I Pr 2 and takes up themes from this prologue, is exactly repeated for the second Leocadia song, I ch 46, "Sour cest rivage" [On this shore], a song of rejoicing from the banks of the river from which Leocadia's relics had been rescued. (See appendix 2). In this way, the return of the relics is linked to the poet/composer's singing and particularly to the introductory song whose melody was likely composed by Gautier. The melody of the third Leocadia song, I ch 47, "De Sainte Leochade" [About Saint Leocadia], a hymn to Leocadia relating again her story and great worth, is repeated for the last song in the *Miracle* collection II ch 36, "Entendez tuit ensemble et li clerc et li lai" [Listen all together, clergy and laymen], which follows the Marian Psalter and urges all to pray to the Virgin who saved mankind by giving birth to Jesus. But in this case, the borrowing does not stop there. The melody of I ch 47 comes from the celebrated *conductus* by Perotinus, "Beata viscera Mariae Virginis," the text of which is likely by Phillip the Chancellor, a song of praise to the Virgin for the Christmas season.[39] This last example offers a double *contrafactum*: citation and self citation. We are invited to fold the Virgin, Perotinus, and Phillip the Chancellor into Gautier's grand plan, linking them to Leocadia and to his own creation.

Let us look more closely at the double *contrafactum*. The Leocadia song "De Sainte Leochade" keeps both the versification and the melody of the Latin original, with several modifications, however, to adapt the florid *conductus* melody to the vernacular idiom. Because it seems closer to the original, Chailley proposes that it was composed first, which seems logical.[40] "Entendez tuit" would then be a *contrafactum* of "De Sainte Leochade" and, through that song, of "Beata viscera." From the standpoint of versification, "Entendez tuit" differs notably from its models. Both original stanzas ("Beata" and "Leochade") had eight lines followed by a four-line refrain, all with six syllables. "Entendez tuit" has four alexandrins with epic caesura followed then by a four-line refrain with six syllables. This rearrangement duplicates the stanza form (without refrain) of the *Saluts*, which the song immediately follows. However, the difference in versification is a kind of trick: two poetic lines in the models have become one poetic line in "Entendez tuit" so that the same melody fits all three songs. Further, both original texts, Latin and vernacular, have seven stanzas plus

refrain. "Entendez tuit" has twelve stanzas plus refrain. By enlarging the scope of his last song, Gautier produces an expansive conclusion to the entire work.

The textual relationship of the first and last songs ("Amors qui seit" and "Entendez tuit") in the complex linking by melody of Leocadia and Gautier reinforces this perception. In the first song, I ch 3, "Amors qui seit," Gautier states his position as a singer/composer:

> Amors, qui seit bien enchanter,
> As plusieurs fait tel chant chanter
> Dont les ames deschantent.
> Je ne veil mais chanter tel chant.
> Mais por celi novel chant chant
> De cui li angle chantent. (1–6)
>
> [Love who knows well how to enchant, / Makes many people to sing a song / Such that their souls will be disenchanted (or: will despair). / I no longer wish to sing such a song. / But I will sing a new song / For the one of whom the angels sing.]

The last song, "Entendez tuit," embodies crucial elements of the "novel chant" that Gautier wishes to sing. The first stanza of the song recalls both his overall goal of reaching a broad audience and the singing of the angels:

> Entendez tuit ensemble et li clerc et li lai
> Le salu Nostre Dame. Nus ne sait plus douz lai.[41]
> Plus douz lai ne puet estre qu'est *Ave Maria*.
> Cest lai chanta li angeles quant Diex se maria. (1–4)
>
> [Listen all together, clergy and laymen / To the "Hail to Our Lady." No one knows a sweeter song. / No sweeter song than Ave Maria can exist. / The angels sang this song when God married.]

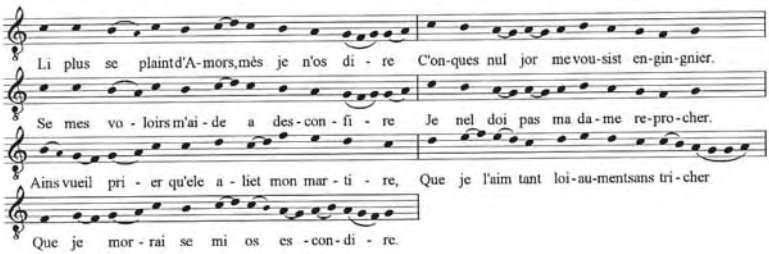
The melody recalls a Latin *conductus*, the very kind of song monks are supposed to sing to express their love of the Virgin, (II Pr 1, 366–367) in contrast to the songs "Dont les ames deschantent." "Beata viscera" is indeed a spectacular example of a song to the Virgin. It is by Gautier "translated" into the vernacular, first directly, retaining the original poetic structure, in "Leochade," and then expansively in "Entendez tuit." The process recalls his initial goal with respect to the miracles: "Miracles que truis en latin / Translater voel en rime et metre" [The miracles I found in Latin / I want to "transfer" into rhyme and meter] (I Pr 1, 7–8). "Entendez tuit," in *roman* but with a prestigious sacred reference, is, in miniature, an emblem of Gautier's

new work. By drawing Latin into the realm of vernacular song, he reiterates at its conclusion the nature of his entire enterprise: to transform Latin into something all can understand. The process of borrowing and self-citation inscribes the inspiration of Leocadia and the Virgin, the goals of the *Miracles*, and techniques of composition into the structure of the work.

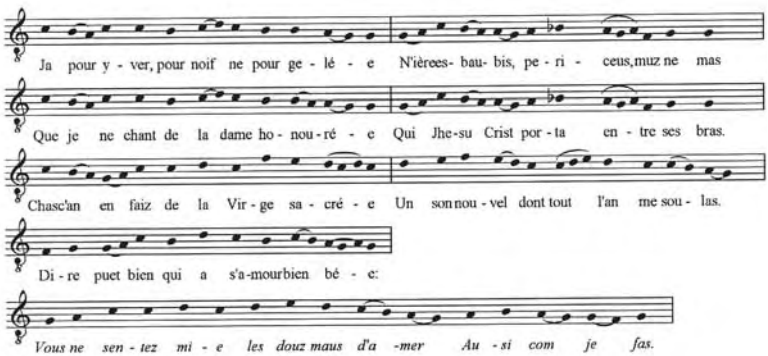
Through a complex web of citations, references, and borrowings, Gautier creates his authorial identity by positioning himself with respect to secular and sacred, narrative and lyric traditions in order to lay claim to new territory. He speaks as a lover who sings to his lady, as a storyteller who wishes to instruct and entertain, and as a monk whose desire is to bring all who will listen into the service of the Virgin. He establishes his authority as a writer/composer by reference to or appropriation of already existing materials, weaving his web of allusion into a coherent argument. Gautier demonstrates superbly that original composition can be achieved by reinscribing known materials into a new context where they take on new meanings: the ones he has given them. When the web is complete and its full meaning revealed by melodic borrowing, Gautier is ready to sign off, which he does at the close of "Entendez tuit," stamping the song, and indeed the entire collection, with his authorship: "Sa chançon ci finee li prïeus de Vi a" [The prior of Vic ends here his song] (92).

Appendix 1: *Ja pour yver pour noif ne pour gelee*

Model: Blondel de Nesles, "Li plus se plaint d'Amors, mes je n'os dire



[Many complain of Love, but I dare not speak / So that never might she betray me./ If my desire brings me to anguish / I must not reproach my lady. / On the contrary, I want to pray that she alleviate my martyrdom, / For I love her so loyally without deceit / That I will die if I am rebuffed.]



Ja pour yver, pour noif ne pour gelee
N'iere esbaubis, periceus, mus ne mas
Que je ne chant de la dame honouree
Qui Jhesu Crist porta entre ses bras.
Chasc'an en faiz de la Virge sacree
Un son nouvel, dont tout l'an me solas.
Dire puet bien qui a s'amour bien bee:
Vous ne sentez mie
Les dous maus d'amer
Ausi com je fas.

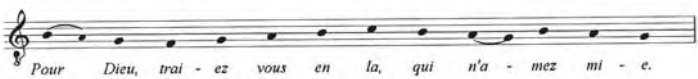
[Never for winter, snow or ice / Will I be so distraught, lazy, depressed or mute/That I do not sing about the revered lady/Who bore Jesus Christ in her arms. / Each year I make for the Blessed Virgin / A new song which comforts me all year. / He who desires Her love may well say: *You do not feel / the sweet pains of love /As I do.*]

Ne devroit pas amors estre apelee
L'amors de coy li cors a les degras.
Quant l'ame en est sanz finement dampnee,
N'est pas amors, ainz est guille et baras.
Por ce pourchas l'amor bone eüree
Dont l'ame atent a toz jors les solas:
Si faite amors m'atalente et agree.
Vous ne sentez mie
Les dous maus d'amer
Ausi com je fas.

[Love that delights the body / Should not be called love. / When the soul is eternally damned by it, / It is not love but deceit and fraud. / That is why I seek the blessed love / From which the soul draws eternal solace:/ Such a love attracts and pleases me. *You do not feel / the sweet pains of love / As I do.*]

Vous qui amez la grant rose espanie
Ou Sainz Espirs se reposa et jut,
Vos en arez la pardurable vie
Mais que vos cuers ne se varit et mut.
Vos qui par truc amez et par boisdie,
Sachiez qu'a Dieu vostre amor flaire et put;
Dampnez serez par vostre lecerie.

[You who love the flowering rose / Where the Holy Spirit descended, / Will have everlasting life / Provided your heart does not vary or change. / You who love by deceit, / Know that to God your love festers and stinks; / You will be damned for lechery.



Pour Dieu, traiez vos en la,
Qui n'amez mie.

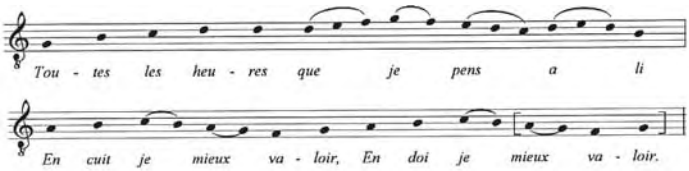
For God's sake, go away
You who do not love.]

Qui vieut avoir bien savoureuse amie,
Aint de vrai cuer, ne ja ne s'en remut.
Celi dont Diex parla par Ysaïe
Qui de Jessé burjona, naist et crut,
Get puer et rut amour de vilenie,
De fole amor die adés "tprout" et "trut"!
Et puis aprés tout hardiement die:
"Pour Dieu traiez vos en la;
Qui n'amez mie."

[He who wishes to have a delicious beloved, / Let him love with a true heart and never change./The One of whom God spoke through Isaiah/who burgeoned, was born, and grew from the tree of Jesse, /Let him cast off and reject base love, /Let him at once say of foolish love "Fie" "Be damned"! / And then boldly say: / *"For God's sake, go away/You who do not love."*]

Querons le grain, laissons aler la paille;
Laissons l'amer qui tout l'ame et l'avoir,
S'amons celi de cuer et de coraille
Sanz cui amor nus ne puet Dieu avoir.
Cil fait savoir qui pour s'amor travaille.
Nus ne l'aimme, ce sachiez bien de voir,
Si tres petit que mil tans mieuz n'en vaille.

[Let us seek the wheat and leave the chaff;/Let us leave the love that takes away souls and goods,/And love with all our heart the One /Without whose love no one can possess God. / He is wise who strives to obtain her love. / No one loves her, know this truly, / Even a little without improving.

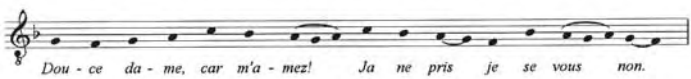


Toutes les heures que je pens a li
En cuit je mieux valoir,
En doi je mieux valoir.

For all the hours I pass thinking of her / I believe I am more worthy, / I must be more worthy.]

Dame cui Diex et touz li mondes prise,
Mout volontiers vos lo, pris et renom.
Pour vostre amor, qui m'esprent et atise,
Pluseurs foiz ai fait maint dit et maint son.
En guerredon requier a vo franchise
De vostre amour autant com un suiron.
Tant en vaut mieuz que touz li ors de Frise.

[Lady whom God and all the world value, /Willingly do I praise, esteem, and exalt you. / For your love, which seizes and enflames me,/I have many times made poems and melodies. / As a reward, I ask of your generosity /Only a bit of your love./ It has more value than all the gold of Frisia.

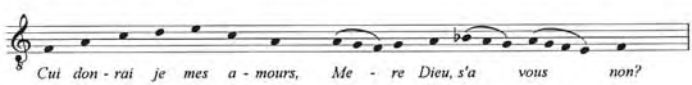


Douce dame, car m'amez!
Ja ne pris je se vos non.

Sweet Lady, do love me!/I esteem none but you.]

Vostre amor a, dame, telle efficace
Que nus n'en a si petite parçon
Dou roi dou ciel n'ait l'amor et la grace.
Pour ce servir et amer vos doit on.
N'est, voir, nus hom cui li douz Diex
tant hace
N'en ait merci s'il vos sert de cuer bon.
Nus ne vos sert qui bone fin ne face.

[Lady, your love has such power/That no one who has even a bit of it / Fails to have the love and grace of the King of Heaven./That is why one must serve and love you. / Truly there is no man whom God hates / Who has not His pity if he serves you with true heart. / All who serve you reach a good end.



Cui donrai je mes amors,
Mere Dieu, s'a vos non?

To whom shall I give my love, / Mother of God, if not to you?]

Blondel de Nesles: adapted from Chailley, *Chansons*, 143. Melody and refrains for "Ja pour yver" are given interspersed with text as in MS S, showing the independence of the refrains. A transcription is in Chailley, *Chansons*, 143.

Appendix 2: *Amours qui seit bien & Sour cest rivage* compared

A - mours qui seit bien en - chan - ter A plu - seurs fait tel chant chan - ter
Sour cest ri - vage, a ces - te croiz, De - vons chas - qu'an a hau - te voiz

Dont les a - mes des - chan - tent. Je ne vueil mès chan - ter tel chant,
Lo - er Dieu et sa me - re. Diex si piu - ment nos re - gar - da

Mès por ce - li no - vel chant chant De cui li an - gle chan - tent.
No da - moi - se - le nos gar - da De - denz ceste ia - ve cle - re.

[***Amours***: Love who knows well how to enchant / Makes many people sing a song / Such that their souls will be disenchanted. / I no longer wish to sing such a song / But I will sing a new song / For the one of whom the angels sing.
Sour cest rivage: On this shore, by this cross/We must, every year, in a loud voice / Praise God and his mother. / God so mercifully looked upon us / And saved our damsel for us / Within this clear water.]

Comparative chart prepared from MS S and Chailley, *Chansons*, 97 & 158.

Appendix 3: *Beata viscera, De Sainte Leocade, & Entendez tuit:* melodies compared

Stanza

1.Be - a - ta vis - ce - ra 2.Ma - ri - a Vir - gi - nis

1.De Sain - te Leo - ca - de 2.La vir - ge glo - ri - eu - se

1.En - ten - dez tuit en - sem - ble, et li clerc et li lai,

3.Cu - jus ad u - be - ra 4.Rex ma - gni no - mi - nis

3.L'em - me - le - e, la sa - de 4.La dou - ce la pi - teu - se

2.Le sa - lu Nos - tre Da - me. Nus ne set plus douz lai.

5.Ves - te sub at - te - ra 6.Vim ce - lans nu - mi - nis

5.De - vons, a ce me sem - ble 6.Fai - re feste et me - moi - re.

3.Plus douz lais ne puet es - tre qu'est A - ve Ma - ri - a,

7.Dic - ta - vit fe - de - ra 8.De - i et ho - mi - nis.

7.Diex nous maint touz en - sem - ble 8.Par ses pre - ces en gloi - re.

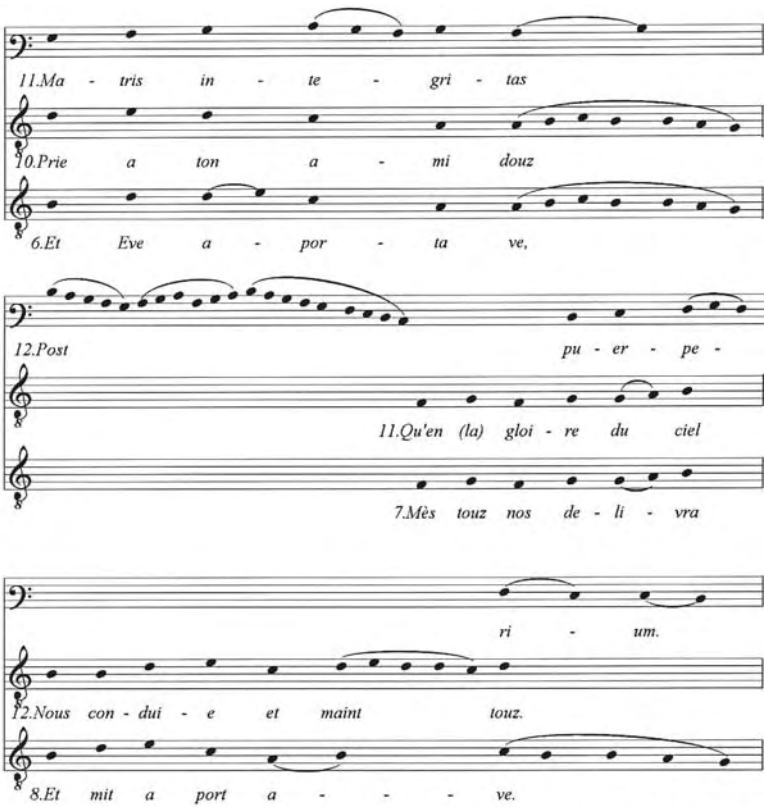
4.Cest lai chan - ta li An - gres quant Diex se ma - ri - a.

Refrain

9.O mi - ra no - vi - tas10.Et no - vum gau - di - um

9.E pu - ce - le sanz fiel

5.Eve a mortnous li - vra



[***Beata viscera***: Blessed womb /Of the Virgin Mary /At whose breast /The King of of great name, / Wearing another garment / Concealing the force of his divinity, / Concluded a pact / between God and man. */O wondrous novelty /And new joy / Of a mother still intact / After childbirth.*
De Sainte Leocade: Saint Leocadia / The glorious Virgin / Honeyed, delicious, / Sweet, full of pity, / We must, it seems to me, /celebrate and remember./ May God keep us all together, / Through her prayers, in glory./ *Ah virgin without bitterness / Pray to your sweet friend / That to the glory of heaven / He lead and sustain us.*
Entendez tuit: Listen all together, clergy and laymen / To the "Hail to Our Lady." No one knows a sweeter song./No sweeter song than *Ave Maria* can exist./The angels sang this song when God married.]

As in many *contrafacta*, relationships between melodies here are clearer at the beginning. Comparative chart: MS S, for Gautier, and Chailley, *Chansons,* 148 & 159.
Music files by Robert Eisenstein, Director of the Five College Early Music Program.

Notes

I would like to thank Howell Chickering, English Department, Amherst College for a careful reading of the essay and perceptive comments, and Robert Eisenstein, Music Department, Mount Holyoke College, Director of the Five College Early Music Program for computerizing the melodies of Gautier de Coinci.

1. Gautier de Coinci was born in 1177 or 1178. When he was fifteen or sixteen years old, he became a monk in Saint Médard, a royal Benedictine abbey in Soissons, in northeastern France. In 1214 he become prior of Vic-sur-Aisne, a tiny priory established in 1194. Ten years later he left to become grand prior of Saint Médard, where he died in 1236. See Gautier de Coinci, *Les Miracles de Nostre Dame de Gautier de Coinci*, ed. Frédéric Koenig, 4 vols. (Geneva: Droz, 1966–70), introduction, pp. xviii–xxx for the life of Gautier.
2. The presence of musical composition likens Gautier's miracle collection to that of Alfonso the Learned, *The Cantigas de Santa Maria* (late thirteenth century). Although the two authors have music in common, although some of the miracle stories are the same, and although both call themselves troubadour/trouvère of the Virgin, the way they handle music is quite different: all of Alfonso's miracle stories are set to music whereas with Gautier the songs are separate from the stories.
3. I will be emphasizing particularly the textual construction of an author, a concept that cannot be treated in full here. For general consideration of authorship in contexts not wholly unlike Gautier's, see David Hult, *Self-Fulfilling Prophecies: Readership and Authority in the First* Roman de la Rose (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 25–64; Emma Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making and the "Roman de Fauvel"* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002), ch. 3; and the article by Kevin Brownlee also on the *Roman de Fauvel*, a text which, though later, also combines lyric and narrative, "Authorial Self-Representation and Literary Models in the *Roman de Fauvel*," in *Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle, Music, and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Français 146*, ed. Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 73–103. The vividness of Gautier's poetic persona is brought out in David A. Flory, *Marian Representations in the Miracle Tales of Thirteenth-Century Spain and France* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2000), ch. 3; and the lyric persona (with no significant reference to music) is characterized by Anna Drzewicka, "Le Livre ou la voix: le moi poétique dans les Miracles de Notre Dame de Gautier de Coinci," *Le Moyen Age* 96 (1990): 33–51. The most complete study of Gautier's work including some aspects of borrowing and citation in the songs is Kathryn A. Duys, "Books Shaped by Song: Early Literary Literacy in the 'Miracles de Nostre Dame' of Gautier de Coinci" (PhD diss., New York University, 1997). Several studies have addressed the question of borrowing and conversion, particularly from "courtly" to sacred, but they do not specifically examine borrowing as a technique of authorial representation: Paule V. Bétérous, *Les Collections de miracles de la Vierge en gallo et ibéro-roman au XIIIe siècle. Etude comparée: thèmes et structures*, Marian Library

Studies 13–14, (Dayton, Ohio: University of Dayton, 1983–1984), pp. 347–74 and 408–421; Anna Drzewicka, "La Fonction des emprunts à la poésie profane dans les chansons mariales de Gautier de Coinci," *Le Moyen Age* 91 (1985): 33–51 and 179–200; William Calin, "On the Nature of Christian Poetry: From the Courtly to the Sacred and the Functioning of Contrafactum in Gautier de Coinci," in *Studia in honorem prof. M. de Riquer*, 4 vols. (Barcelona: Quaderns Crema, 1988) 3: 385–394; Ardis Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France: From Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002), ch 6; Tony Hunt, " 'Monachus curialis'. Gautier de Coinci and *courtoisie*," in *Courtly Literature and Clerical Culture*, ed. Christoph Huber and Henrike Lähnemann (Tübingen: Attempto Verlag, 2002), pp. 121–135; Michel Zink, *Poésie et conversion au Moyen Âge* (Paris: PUF, 2003), pp. 219–227.

4. Gautier de Coinci, *Les Miracles de Nostre Dame de Gautier de Coinci*, ed. Frédéric Koenig, 4 vols. (Geneva: Droz, 1966–1970). All references to Gautier's *Miracles* will be to that edition. Translation of medieval texts into English have been made by Virginie Greene and Margaret Switten. Koenig lists the parts of the *Miracles* using three criteria: Roman numerals I and II refer to Gautier's books I and II; abbreviations such as "Pr," "Ch," or "*Mir*" refer to the type of composition; and the Arabic numerals list all items of one book in sequential order. Thus I Pr 1 is the first Prologue of the first book; I ch. 3 is a song, the third item of book I; I *Mir* 11 is a miracle story, the eleventh item of book I. The music has been edited by Jacques Chailley, *Les chansons à la Vierge de Gautier de Coinci* (Paris: Heugel, 1959). Chailley discusses the various manuscript traditions for the music. The basic study of Gautier manuscripts remains that of Arlette P. Ducrot-Granderye, *Etude sur les miracles de Nostre Dame de Gautier de Coinci* (*Ann. Acad. Scient. Fenn.*, B–XXV, 1932, repr. Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1980). A detailed review of all of the Gautier manuscripts and a detailed study of the structure of the *Miracles* may be found in Duys, "Books Shaped by Song."
5. For a discussion of the various uses of the word *livre* in Gautier's work, see Drzewicka, "Le Livre ou la voix."
6. Gautier seems to have added the songs after he composed the first book. See Chailley, *Les Chansons*, p. 35 ". . . le premier état de l'oeuvre ne comportait pas de partie lyrique." This could explain why there are two prologues to the first book and why only the prologue to the second book integrates songs and stories.
7. David Hult has pointed out that "it is specifically with the romance tradition that the image of the vernacular author becomes solidified," *Self-fulfilling Prophecies*, p. 31. References to romance thus could offer Gautier a way of identifying himself as an author who uses the vernacular.
8. Benoît de Sainte-Maure, *Le Roman de Troie de Benoît de Sainte-Maure*, traduction et présentation par Emmanuèle Baumgartner (Paris: Union générale d'éditions [10/18], 1987). On the image of the writer in Benoît de Sainte-Maure, see Emmanuèle Baumgartner, "Sur quelques constantes et variations de l'image de l'écrivain (XIIe–XIIIe siècle)," in *Auctor & Auctoritas: Invention et conformisme*

dans l'écriture médiévale, Actes du colloque de Saint-Quentin-en Yvelines (14–16 June, 1990), ed. Michel Zimmerman (Paris: Ecole des chartes, 2001), p. 395 [391–401].

9. Chrétien de Troyes, *Cligés*, ed. Charles Méla and Olivier Collet (Paris: Livre de poche "Lettres gothiques," 1994).
10. Chrétien de Troyes, *Le Conte du graal*, ed. Charles Méla (Paris: Livre de poche "Lettres gothiques," 1990).
11. Chrétien de Troyes, *Le Chevalier de la charrette ou Le Roman de Lancelot*, ed. Charles Méla (Paris: Livre de poche "Lettres gothiques," 1992).
12. Michel Zink, "La dédicace du *Chevalier de la charrette* et les transferts de l'inspiration," in *"Ce est li fruis selonc la letre," Mélanges offerts à Charles Méla*, ed. Olivier Collet, Yasmina Foehr-Janssens and Sylviane Messerli (Paris: Champion, 2002), pp. 591–600.
13. Zink, "La dédicace," p. 591.
14. Zink, "La dédicace," p. 600. The religious work dedicated to Marie de Champagne, a French commentary on Psalm 44 (*Eructavit*), is analyzed in Morgan Powell, "Translating Scripture for *Ma Dame de Champagne*: The Old French Paraphrase of Psalm 44 (Eructavit)," in *The Vernacular Spirit*, ed. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Duncan Robertson, and Nancy Bradley Warren (New York: Palgrave, 2002), pp. 83–103.
15. *Le Roman de Renart*, ed. Jean Dufournet et Andrée Méline, 2 vols. (Paris: GF Flammarion, 1985), 1:308.
16. It was common practice as well to oppose the miracles of the Virgin to secular tales. See Zink, *Poésie et conversion*, p. 223 n. 4.
17. Carl Appel, *Bernart von Ventadorn, Seine Lieder* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1915), p. 208, "Pois preyatz me seignor," ll. 50–51.
18. See Zink, *Poésie et conversion*, pp. 224–226, for a discussion of this point.
19. But of course not the jongleur who plays so beautifully to the Virgin, II *Mir* 21.
20. See Uberto Malazia, "Gautier de Coinci e la chanson medievale," *Quaderni de filologia e lingue romanze* 3:2 (1987): 64 [61–75].
21. This word play is developed at length in I *Mir* 21.
22. For the word "escrivainz" in the context of Gautier's poetic activity, see Drzewicka, "Le Livre ou la voix," p. 249. This would be Gautier's only use of the word.
23. The specific meaning of the term *contrafactum* is difficult to pin down. The article on *contrafactum* in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* points out that the difference between "strict" and "free" *contrafactum* is not always entirely clear (*The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, 2nd edition [London: Macmillan, 2001]). Nevertheless, the statement that Gautier's poems are set to pre-existent melodies always seems to suggest mere borrowing on his part. For example, Tony Hunt writes: ". . . [Gautier] seems not to have been the composer of his own melodies, all the transmitted melodies with his *chansons* being *contrafacta* of existing melodies" (" 'Monachus curialis,' " in *Courtly Literature*, p. 124). In his *New Grove* article on Gautier, Robert Falck, while fully

recognizing the borrowing, does assert that Gautier composed some melodies: "Gautier was, however, no mere musical parodist: a number of the songs that are certainly by him are set to melodies elsewhere unknown; most notable, perhaps, is the very beautiful strophic lai *Roine celestre*" (Robert Falck, "Gautier de Coincy," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy [Accessed November 27, 2003], http://www.grovemusic.com). It is my argument that the very act of borrowing can be considered "original composition" in medieval terms.

24. Duys, "Books Shaped by Song," p. 81.
25. Gautier also speaks of "traire ma lire / . . . atemprer . . . ma vïele" (I Pr 2, 56–57), which raises the issue of instruments, actually played or metaphorically evoked to represent a certain type of song, an issue that cannot be discussed here.
26. This passage is discussed by Duys, "Books Shaped by Song," p. 62.
27. John W. Baldwin, *Aristocratic Life in Medieval France* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), p. xii. Baldwin's dating is based on historical and political contexts. In his edition of Renart's *Rose*, Félix Lecoy argues for a later date, ca. 1228 (*Le Roman de la rose ou de Guillaume de Dole*, ed. Félix Lecoy [Paris: Champion, 1979], p. viii). For this question and fuller comparison of Jean Renart and Gautier de Coinci, see Duys, "Books Shaped by Song," p. 74 and Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France*, pp. 105–106. All references to Jean Renart in this essay will be to the Lecoy edition.
28. The major study on thirteenth-century citation technique is now Butterfield's *Poetry and Music in Medieval France*.
29. See Drzewicka, "Le Livre ou la voix," for a discussion of the verb "chanter" in relation to the question of actual or metaphorical performance of Gautier's *Miracles*.
30. Although the idea of "new song" can be found in many contexts from the Psalms to our own day, it is a concept that particularly defines a new burst of song activity at the end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth century in both secular (troubadours) and sacred (a new type of Latin song frequently designated "versus" in Aquitanian sources) domains. The *versus* are monastic songs that deal frequently with the Virgin. It has been argued that these *versus* also "provided opportunities for individual expression" and bespoke, already in the twelfth century, a new worldliness, characteristics not wholly unlike Gautier's thirteenth-century undertaking (see James Grier, "A New Voice in the Monastery: Tropes and *Versus* from Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Aquitaine," *Speculum* 69 (1994): 1069 [1023–1069]). Jacques Chailley has noted that before Gautier, "comme chansons mariales on ne connaissait que les *versus* et les conduits latins," (*Les Chansons*, p. 20). Gautier certainly knew the *conductus*; whether he knew the earlier Marian monastic songs cannot be ascertained, but it is tempting to think that, as a monastic writer himself, he might have been aware of an effort so like his own to create new songs from within the monastery. For a discussion of how Gautier might have renewed the Chant, see Uberto Malazia, "Gautier de Coinci: la voluntá di rinnovare la musica lirica ne 'Les Miracles de Nostre

Dame,' " in *La Lengua y la literatura en tiempos de Alfonso X*, ed. Fernanco Carmona and Francisco J. Flores (Múrcia: Universidad de Múrcia, 1985), pp. 319–332, and "Intorno al lessico tecnico-musicale ne *Les Miracles de Nostre Dame* di Gautier de Coinci," *Actes du XVIIIe Congrès International de Linguistique et de Philologie Romanes*, ed. Dieter Kremer, 7 vols. (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1988), 6: 408 [405–417], as well as Dominique Colombani, "La Liturgie dans les Miracles de Nostre Dame de Gautier de Coinci," *Mosaic* 12 (1979): 41 [33–54].

31. Carl Appel, *Bernart von Ventadorn, Seine Lieder*, p. 188, "Non es meravelha s'eu chan," lines 1–2. For the use of "faire" to indicate the activity of writing or composing, see Baumgartner, "Sur quelques constantes et variations de l'image de l'écrivain," in *Auctor et Auctoritas*, pp. 392–393.
32. The extensive and excellent study by Drzewicka, "La Fonction des emprunts," analyzes texts for the most part; Duys, "Books Shaped by Song" devotes a chapter to lyric citations and does take music into consideration; the sometimes complicated sources for Gautier's borrowed melodies are given in Chailley, *Les Chansons*. See also Duys, "Books Shaped by Song," pp. 128–131. Further difficulties are provided, however, by a complex manuscript tradition through which the songs have not been uniformly preserved. In some cases, the manuscript tradition shows for a single song two or more different melodies, one borrowed, one not, as in I ch 4, for which only the melody in manuscript B is the same as a melody by Blondel de Nesles, whereas the melody in other manuscripts does not appear to be borrowed.
33. Drzewicka, "La Fonction des emprunts,"; Duys, "Books Shaped by Song."
34. *Poetry and Music in Medieval France*, 109. Speaking of II ch 6, "Hui main a l'ajournee," Butterfield notes that the *contrafactum* "appears to have originated as the duplum of a three-voice clausula from the Notre Dame Organum, *Benedicamus domino*. This clausula made its way into at least two Latin motets, one of which includes a French *contrafactum* in the form of a *pastourelle*." The *pastourelle* taken over by Gautier is then "reconverted" to a sacred song to the Virgin.
35. This song is discussed by Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France*, pp. 109–112, specifically in the context of converting secular to sacred song, looking at the refrain texts and melodic style in detail.
36. The Soissons manuscript, BnF naf 24541, is a deluxe and beautifully illustrated manuscript dating from the 1330s and a main manuscript for Gautier's *Miracles*. It was used by Chailley for his edition of Gautier's melodies. Koenig's edition of this song (Gautier de Coinci, *Les Miracles de Nostre Dame*) draws also on this manuscript. It is to be noted, however, that other manuscripts, in part defective, do not show the orderly coordination of refrains and versification that is found in the Soissons codex.
37. Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France*, p. 112. Butterfield argues that Gautier incorporated refrains to make his songs "as directly and 'popularly' appealing as possible" so that "the religious message is a result of a process of absorption rather than of negation." In the course of her chapter on

contrafacta, Butterfield refers to numerous parallels between Renart's *Rose* and Gautier, suggesting that they "may well indicate that Gautier saw himself as a direct rival to Renart, intent on replacing romance with a sacred context" (p. 114). For distinctions between "courtly" and "popular" in the thirteenth century, see Butterfield's chapter 7.

38. Of Spanish origin, Saint Leocadia, largely invented by the Visigothic monarchs in the late sixth century, was the patron of the royal capital, Toledo. For a detailed discussion of the Leocadia songs in different manuscripts, and particularly of the pivotal position of the songs reinforced by melodic borrowing so that they "radiate [Gautier's] authorial presence," see Duys, "Books Shaped by Song," pp. 132–137 and 200–235. My analysis is indebted to her ground-breaking study.
39. Perotinus was a composer of *conductus* who worked in Paris around 1200, likely at the cathedral of Notre Dame. Philip the Chancellor lived in Paris, from about 1170 to 1236. He is noted for his Latin poetry. For the relationship between Philip the Chancellor and Gautier, see Duys, "Books Shaped by Song," pp. 88–91, and for a detailed analysis of the "Entendez tuit" text, pp. 93–99.
40. Chailley, *Les Chansons*, p. 152. One might briefly diagram the repetitions in this way:

I ch 3 "Amors qui seit bien enchanter"	:	melody of I ch 3, composed by Gautier
I ch 46 "Sour cest rivage"	:	repeated for I ch 46
I ch 47 "De Sainte Léochade"	:	melody of I ch 47, contrafact of "Beata viscera"
II ch 36 "Entendez tuit ensemble"	:	repeated for II ch 36, making a double contrafact.

41. "Lai" here and elsewhere in Gautier means "song" in general. Olivier Collet, *Glossaire et Index critique des oeuvres d'attribution certaine de Gautier de Coinci* (Geneva: Droz, 2000), p. 297.

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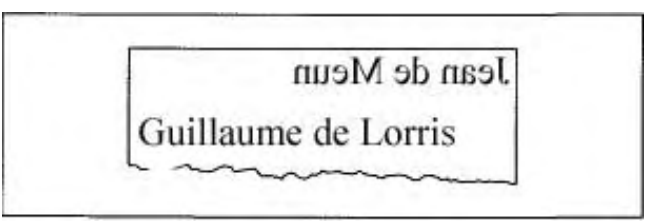
CHAPTER 3

THE *ROMAN DE LA ROSE* AS A MÖBIUS STRIP (ON INTERPRETATION)

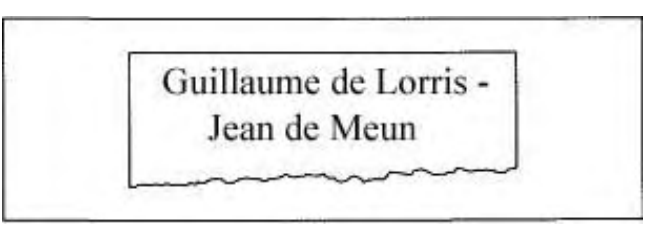
Alexandre Leupin

> C'est fous sens, c'est sage folie
> (*Roman de la Rose*, v. 4320)

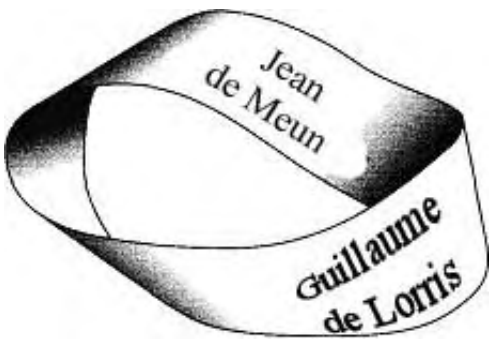
A classical topic in Medieval French studies is the problem of the unity or bipartition of the *Roman de la Rose*, always considered from the angle of a single or dual authorship.[1] We can represent the position in favor of a bipartite novel graphically, by inscribing the supposed authors' names, Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, one on a side each of a paper strip. This strip represents the manuscripts in which the *Roman*'s two parts are preserved:



Conversely, single authorship can be represented by inscribing the names of both authors on the same side of the strip:



Both interpretations present us with an epistemological conundrum: the text's unity or duality is ultimately referred to a conception of authorship that is not medieval, one in which the ultimate deciding criterion is the author's or authors' intentionality. After all, almost all that we know about Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun is derived from the fiction in which their names are inscribed; we might inadvertently take for a real difference or a real identity what are diacritical marks produced by a literary fiction. To solve the problem, I propose to submit both strips to the same treatment, which will produce an identical result: first, I operate a 180-degree torsion on the strip; then I glue the extremities together. What is known as a Möbius strip is then produced, a unilateral surface. Hence, instead of being opposed or merged into a unity, the two parts of the *Roman* will be united on the single side of a surface that endlessly designates at the same time Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun and alternates between them. Just build the strip and run a finger along the length of the surface to verify the result:

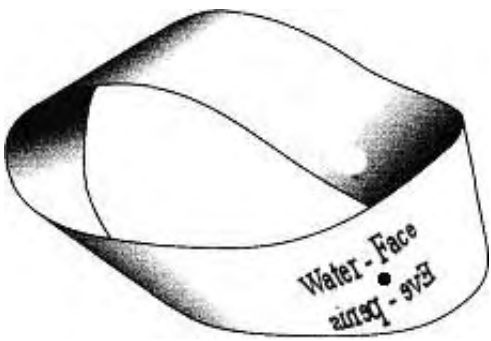


What this means is that each signifier of the entire text is doubly inscribed on a single surface that bears the authors' names. Each and every utterance of Guillaume de Lorris has its interpretative counterpoint (most often an antinomy) in Jean de Meun. Concomitantly, Jean de Meun's statements must be interpreted through those of Guillaume de Lorris. In other words, the first part anticipates the second, and the second is a retroactive reading of the first. No part or author has a privilege of truth over the other; contradictions will simply coexist in the eternal day that is a distinctive feature of the *Roman*'s temporality.[2] The Möbius strip renders this phenomenon manifest, since it is not swiveling in space or time; the epistemological conundrum is resolved, beyond the problem of authorship. Indeed, were we to discover in the future incontrovertible (historical, archival) evidence of dual authorship, we still should have to account for the decision evidenced by most manuscripts, which present the *Roman de la Rose* as a unified work. In the inverse case, in which the first part is alone in a manuscript, we can

simply think of the second part as an interpretation of the first, and this interpretation will have to be inscribed on a Moebian strip as well.[3] Let us note that the first part also builds its own strip, inasmuch as its statements are far from univocal and can be seen as written on the unilateral surface. The strip is a tool that helps us formalize the double-entendres found everywhere in literature. For example,

> De l'eve clere reluisant
> Mon vis refreschi et lavé, (118–119)[4]

is normally translated as "With the help of the clear and brilliant water / I refreshed and washed my face." But it could also be translated thus: "With the help of the clear and brilliant Eve, I refreshed and washed my dick." This is not the only example of a double-entendre in the work of Guillaume de Lorris. Because of language's ambiguous nature, any statement can be inscribed, and thus interpreted, at least twice. Here is a graphic representation of the process:



The black dot is the point, marked on both the "sides," from which a single statement produces two significations. This very ambiguity allows Jean de Meun to add the (huge) "grain of salt" that is in the second part of the romance, and further commentators, like Christine de Pizan and ourselves, to write our articles and books. Were language an univocal code of signs akin to the songs of whales, literature (and humanity) would cease to exist because texts (and all our utterances) would interpret themselves and produce only one definitive meaning.

The text produces the Möbian theory of its enunciation through the logic of contradictory "things," by which Jean de Meun means signifiers:

> Ainsi va des contraires choses,
> Les unes sunt des autres gloses;

Et qui l'une en veult defenir,
De l'autre li doit souvenir,
Ou ja, par nulle entencion,
N'i metra diffinicion:
Car qui des .II. n'a connoissance,
Ja n'i connoistra differance,
Sanz coi ne puet venir en place
Diffinicion que l'en face. (21577–25186)

[So it goes with the contrary things / The ones are a gloss of the others; / And who wants to define one / Has to remember the other; / If not, whatever his intention, / He will no define it. / For, he who doesn't know both things, / Will not understand the difference. / Without this, no definition that one makes / Can succeed.]

All the statements contained in the *Roman* can be defined by their opposites, and this, regardless of the intentions (*entencion*) of the author(s) or readers. This applies to both parts, whether considered as separate or as a single entity. The production of meaning is here akin to Derrida's *différance*, a term we can find spelled that way in the romance's manuscripts. Signification will be born from the clash of antonymic statements. In his edition of the *Roman*, Armand Strubel has linked this passage to the art of *distinctiones* practiced by philosophers (among them Alain de Lille and Nicolas d'Amiens) in the medieval *schola* [schools].[5] This is only partially true: the pre-scholastic *Distinctiones* use grammar, philosophy, and logic to determine the meaning of the same term used in different contexts. They are to be framed by a conception of language that is realist, in the sense given to this epithet through the Quarrel of Universals. To the opposite, the logic of *contraires choses* [contrary things] in the *Roman* is akin to the extreme nominalism of a Derrida or a Foucault, for whom, in the closed realm of the text and more generally of language, meaning never ceases to deconstruct itself, preventing an ultimate decision regarding its real sense. This is exactly what Amant, the hero and narrator of the *Roman*, declares to Raison: "En ma leçon a tant contraire, / Que je n'en sai nul mot entendre." (4360–4361) [In my lesson there are so many contradictions / That I cannot comprehend a single word of it]. Hence, our romance/ Möbius strip is wrapped "around" a central void of sense and nonsense, the existence of which Amant does not doubt, but which he is never able to ascertain and control. The *distinctiones*, on the contrary, are a tool the purpose of which is to unveil a real meaning outside the self-referentiality of language.

I give here only one central example of the process of the *contraires choses*. Since it is the very structure of the text itself, even a simple list would exceed the limits of this chapter. In that sense, the Möbius strip is not just a

convenient metaphor or a descriptive device apprehending the text from the outside: I contend it is the *Roman* itself.

In the middle of the narrative, a strange character appears, Faus Semblans [False Figure], accompanied by an equally strange companion, Abstinence Contrainte [Constricted Abstinence]. Faus Semblans symbolizes a mendicant friar, against whom Jean de Meun does not mince words. He is the double (Möbian inscription) of a character, Papelardie [Hypocrisy or Pope-Holiness],[6] that was painted on the walls outside of the love orchard by Guillaume de Lorris. Faus Semblans takes up successfully the roles of the many guides whose help Amant has sought in his quest for the Rose. In other words, an entirely negative principle is now introduced by Jean de Meun *in* the orchard, and this principle will be the character to whom the conclusion of the huge narrative is attributable. Abstinence Contrainte is the inverted double (again, think about the Moebian inscription) of Amour in Guillaume's orchard. As such, she is a negative interpretation of courtly love, in which the Lady always forbids and defers the poet's sexual pleasure to an uncertain future. It is to these two characters, Faus Semblans and Abstinence Contrainte—that is to lie, deception, and hypocrisy—that Amant owes his final success, the sexual conquest (which is a rape) of the Rose. His former guides, Raison [Reason], Bel Accueil [Fair Welcome], or Ami [Friend], embodiments of positive qualities, have fallen by the wayside. The narrative quest hence is tied to the problem posed by the representations of femininity, which I examine now in a more detailed fashion.

The *Roman de la Rose* is often seen as the classic manifestation of medieval misogyny, but we can find in the text an equally damaging assessment of men. For example, Nature says of man that he is:

> Orgueilleus est, murtriers et lerres
> Fel, couvoiteus, avers, trichierres,
> Desesperez et mesdisanz
> Et haïnneus et despisanz,
> Mescreanz, envieus, mentierres,
> Parjurs, faussaires, foz, vantierres,
> Glouz, inconstanz et foloiables,
> Ydolastres, desagreables,
> Traistres et faus ypocrites
> Et pareceus et sodomites.
> Briement, tant est chaitis et nices
> Qu'il sers a trestouz les vices
> Et trestouz en soi les hesberge. (19229–19241)

> [Man is full of pride, a murderer and a liar / A felon, lascivious, avaricious, a cheater, / Full of hate and scorn / A miscreant, envious, mendacious / Perjuring, fraudulent, mad, boasting, / He is inconstant and easily duped, / Idolatrous,

disagreeable / Treacherous and hypocrite / Lazy and sodomite / In brief, he is so weak and stupid / That he is slave to all vices / And he houses them all in him.]

As a matter of fact, any statement about men or women found in the *Roman* can be contradicted by its opposite: such is the logic of the *contraires choses*. No concept escapes it, not in the least masculinity and femininity. We should therefore expect to find at least two opposing definitions of femininity in the *Roman*, which we can at any time reverse in each other. But will this discourse on femininity find its true object? That is the question.

Schematically, the first definition reproduces the classical courtly Lady. She is so inaccessible that she petrifies the lover, as the God of love tells the lover/dreamer/narrator/author:

Or renvenra maintes foïes
Qu'an pensant t'antroblieras
Et une grant piece seras
Ausis com une ymage mue
Qui ne se crole ne remue,
Sanz piez, sanz mains, sanz doiz croler,
Sanz iaus movir et sanz parler. (2282–2298)

[This will happen often: / You will forget yourself in your thought / And, for a very long time, you will be / As a mute image / That cannot move its feet, its hands, its fingers / Its eyes, and that cannot speak.]

What is the meaning of this petrification, or better, "phallification"? It means that the lover's desire, and hence his song or romance, is maintained eternally alive in the hope that there will be an intercourse with the courtly Lady. Her inaccessibility therefore maintains an infinite hope:

Esperance li fet soffrir
Les maus dont nus ne set le conte,
Por la joie qui .c. tanz monte.
Esperance par soffrir vaint
Et fait que li amanz vivaint; (2622–2626)

[Hope makes the Lover endure / The ills, which nobody can count,[7] / For the joy that is worth a hundred times more. / Hope defeats suffering / And makes the lovers live;]

In other words, the whole strategy of courtly love is to deny the absence of a sexual rapport (that is, a logical statement that could posit a logical

relationship between femininity and masculinity, not a sexual act or a sexual relationship[8]) by maintaining that it could happen in an infinitely remote future. At the end of the first part, however, the lover will have obtained nothing but a kiss:

> N'i ot onques plus demore:
> Un baisier douz et savoré
> Priz de la Rose erraument. (3475–3477)
>
> [I didn't delay anymore / And, right away, I took a sweet kiss full of flavor / From the Rose.]

The other image of femininity is enclosed within the Rose as the second part of the novel defines it. This new image seems to be the opposite of the first one, but we will see that they have a lot in common.

In order to understand this second metaphor, we have to read it through the mythical episode of Pygmalion that introduces the orgasmic conclusion of the romance. Pygmalion has created the perfect woman, except that she is made of stone. As such, she is the absolute negation of his desire for her:

> J'aime une ymage sourde et mue
> Qui ne se crosle ne ne mue,
> Ne ja de moi merci n'avra! (20855–20857)
>
> [I love a deaf and mute image, / That doesn't move at all / And will never have pity of me!]

And later he describes her in the following words:

> Car, quant je me vueill aaasier
> Et d'acoler et de baisier
> Je truis m'amie autressi roide
> Com est un pels et aussi froide:
> Et quant pour li baisier i touche,
> Toute me refredist la bouche. (20905–20910)
>
> [When I want to have pleasure / And embrace and kiss her, / I find my companion as rigid / as a post, and so cold that / When I touch her for a kiss, / She freezes my mouth.]

The petrification/phallification that affected the courtly lover facing his Lady in the first part has been displaced to Pygmalion's Lady. It now signifies the abyss between Pygmalion and femininity, an abyss from which the *Roman* extracts itself only by a fictitious, textual miracle: Venus makes the statue come to life. Of course, this doesn't happen in "real" life, wherein what confronts us is always the unapproachable nature of our unconscious desire.

This story forms the framework of the last scene, in which the lover/dreamer/narrator/author finally copulates with the Rose through a violent rape (of course the Rose consents, since she is walled in stony silence!). At first, he seems assured of the possession of the phallus:

> Et puis que je l'oi receü,
> Pres de moi l'aiz touz jors eü,
> Si que nel perdi onques puis
> Ne nel perdrai pas, se je puis,
> Car n'en voudroie estre delivres
> Pour .v.c. foiz .c.m. livres! (21391–21396)
>
> [From the moment I received it / I have always had it near me / And I never lost it / And never will, if I can, / For I would not give it away / For five hundred millions pounds!].[9]

However, the reiteration of the possession, as well as the hyperbole of the monetary value attached to the phallus points to the fact that it could indeed be lost. The same assurance seems to conclusively mark the possession of the Lady in the penultimate line of the long poem: "Ainsint oi la Rose vermeille"[10] [So I had the vermilion Rose]. At first glance, the conclusion of the romance seems as felicitous as the ending of Pygmalion's adventure: the sexual ratio happens through the miracle of fiction. The final copulation scene is structured in its entirety by simulacra: the Lover's sexual organs are reduced to the pilgrim's stick and double bag, the Rose is a stony castle,[11] her sex a sacrilegious reliquary. No miracle here. Nothing happens but the copula of metaphors and images: the dream fulfills the wish, but the fulfillment remains a dream. We could read this conclusion as yet another instance of the reification of femininity: after all, there is no more brutal image of woman than as stone object. But this reading forgets that the lover is himself reduced to the level of a desultory object. A metaphor has forcibly copulated with another one; nothing has really happened; and Jean de Meun goes to extreme lengths to make his readers understand the radically textual, unreal nature of his conclusion. The end of the lover's quest is equivocal to say the least. But that is precisely the point. The reader is sent back to the *Roman*'s Möbius strip, this endless loop wrapped around a void (a nonsense), in which figures infinitely repeat their "*différances*": indeed, the "definition" cannot be completed.

We can therefore read the ending of the romance as a radical criticism of reification/objectification. In the end, nothing has happened; it was just a dream, as the last verse indicates: "Atant fuz jorz, et je m'esveille" (21750)[12] [It was dawn and I wake up]. But this dream was present since the very beginning, dreamed this time by the courtly lover:

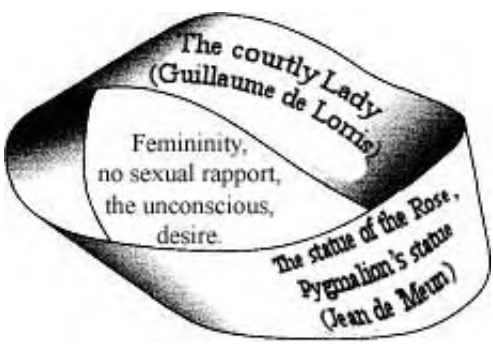
> Lors feras chastiaus en Espaigne
> Et avras joie de noiant,

Tant con tu iras foloiant
En la pensee delitable
Ou il n'a que mençonge et fable. (2440–2444)

[Then you will build castles[13] in the air / And will have joy of nothingness / Because you will rejoice / In the delicious thought / Where there is but lie and fable.]

The dream framework of the whole poem thus serves the purpose of an implicit criticism of all the copulative solutions to the enigma of sexual difference found in the text. From the very beginning the Rose is but a narcissistic vision of the lover himself, since he discovers it as a reflection in the mirror formed by the fountain of Narcissus. The *Roman de la Rose* therefore terminates as it had begun, in an abject failure, a copulation of simulacra denounced as such. In fact, we can see the whole romance as a vast and circular presentification/denegation of the truth that "there is no sexual ratio." It is hence at the same time an exposition and a radical critique of all the images that one can superimpose on femininity; whatever their sheer mass in the course of these more than twenty-one-thousand lines, in the end, femininity will have escaped the grasp of language.

We can now "fill" the void at the center of the Möbius strip with the names of that which the text cannot represent:



Of course, this partial interpretation has no pretense of delivering the "ultimate meaning" of the *Roman de la Rose*. Its only ambition is to clarify the structure of the romance on a specific problem, using a tool that may lead to an almost infinite number of readings. The experiment should then be repeated again and again, with the inclusion of as many *contraires choses* as possible, and at different levels (mythology-Christianity, reason-nature, or love in Antiquity and modernity, to name but a few of the possibilities).

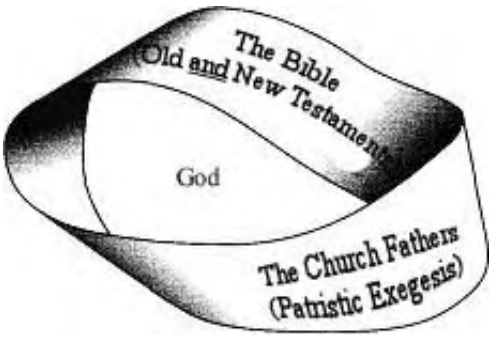
A fundamental difference between the Möbian structure of the *contraires choses* (or signifiers) and Derrida's deconstruction should be pointed out here.

The former revolves around a real and external reference at its center, which the strip evokes and alludes to in the failures of representation (as demonstrated by the ultimate checkmate at uniting male and female in the *Roman*). Derrida's theory, on the contrary, does not tolerate such a lack. A signifier will always ultimately refer to another signifier, ad infinitum, in accordance with Derrida's inherent nominalism. In other words, in the first conception, double inscription and repetition of the signifiers are the processes that produce meaning. In Derrida's theory, the play of the signifier (*différance*) produces indecidability. Since there is no central reference or lack in the theory, it cannot be represented by a Möbius strip, which presupposes an exteriority of language.

The structure of the *Roman de la Rose* is grounded in a very old art of interpretation, the *concordia discors* [discordant concord] of the two Testaments created by the Church Fathers in order to read the Bible. The Old Testament is seen as the literal level of the Gospels, which unveils its meaning, even if it is by a repetition, since the New Testament can also be considered as an extensive quote of the Torah.

Hence both Testaments wrap themselves around a central void, which, in the case of the Bible, is God, an entity out of the world inasmuch as it is its creator, and is therefore, according to the tenets of apophatic theology, real, but nonrepresentable.[14] "*Nova Lex de veteri Lege texta est*" [The New Law is embroidered from the Old one], writes Hildegarde von Bingen; Saint Augustine declares: "*In veteri Testamento est occultatio Novi, in Novo Testamento est manifestatio Veteris*" [In the Old testament, we have the occultation of the New, in the New Testament we have the manifestation of the Old Testament].[15] Each figure in the Torah and the Prophets has its elucidating correspondent in the New Testament, and in reverse, each statement in the New Testament can be explained through a statement of the Old Testament (Jesus is the new Adam, Mary is the new Eve, etc.; here again, as in the *Roman de la Rose*, the examples are countless). From an initial difference, we reach a contradictory unity. Again, the Möbius strip is the structure of the entire text:

To be born, this structure has to result from an active reading. Even if, in a certain sense, the Church Fathers only repeat a construction already consciously present in the two Testaments (in particular in Paul's letters, which found the tropological interpretation of the Old Testament), they still formalize the relationship by this very repetition. Hence, we can construct another Möbius strip, with God always in the central void:

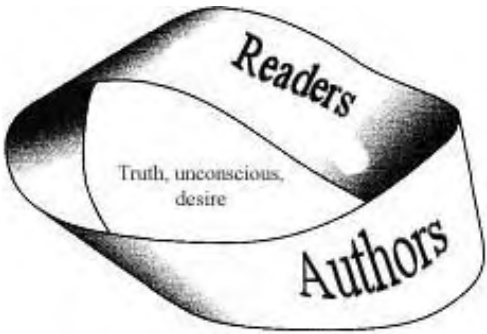


I will make a seemingly outrageous claim: Medieval exegesis, which has no equivalent in the hermeneutics of antiquity,[16] has to be considered as the model for a modern art of interpretation. The first condition for such a claim to be at all possible is to understand the Middle Ages as the cradle of modernity. First, the Incarnation is the foundation of modern science, which defines modernity in the terms of the scientific revolution.[17] Second, medieval exegesis is applied to the history, life, deeds, and acts of a historical character, Jesus; the historicism at work in the Torah receives here its full expression, contrary to mythology. From my point of view, it doesn't matter if Jesus' life happened or not: suffice it to be deemed historical by the Church, which is, as Hegel said, "not a sect, but a real world in which men live."[18] Finally, modern academia was born in the universities of the twelfth century and retains many characteristics of medieval culture: for example, the zeal applied by scholars to literary texts is a displacement of the diligence devoted to the *sacra pagina*'s interpretation by medieval doctors.[19]

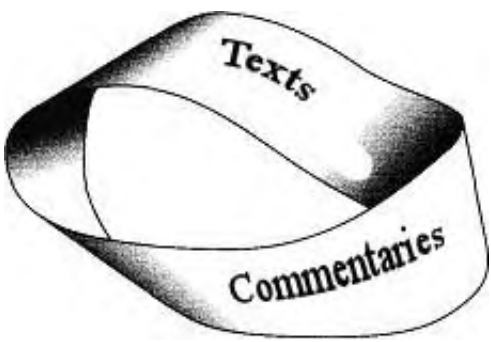
Let me add that, indeed, the Möbian strip is itself a historical structure. It determines the conditions of writing, for example, according to the symbolic and real constraints of each period: the structuring signifiers of each period have thus to be considered in constructing the strip. "To each period its own strip" could be the motto here.

The Möbian structure that informs medieval exegesis shows clearly that the reader is always involved in the observation of text, even if unconsciously (that is, even if the interpreter does not want to know anything

about his or her own involvement). Writing texts, then reading them, and writing commentaries on them again loops around a central void—an unconscious truth and the desire of the reader:



Since the notion of authorship is called into question by medieval literary culture (as well as by modern thinkers like Foucault), a better way to identify the entities on the strip may be this one:

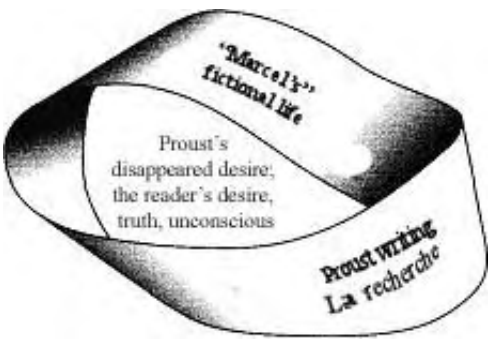


Let me give now an example of a modern text that obeys the Möbian structure: Proust's *À la recherche du temps perdu*. The possibility of writing the work is opened only at the end, in a moment of revelation recounted in *Le temps retrouvé*. But we have been in the text's writing since the very first page. Again, the solution to this epistemological conundrum can only be a Möbius strip. All the events, fictional or not, of a wasted life are given meaning by the revelation of writing. Through their Moebian, active transformation, all the senseless signs of life are redeemed and given meaning; indeed, Proust describes his central experience in specifically religious terms: his is a mysticism displaced to art. The central void is occupied by Proust's desire, of which he leaves traces in the work itself; for example (and

I do not claim this is the only form desire takes in *La recherche*):

> I had had two young laundry-girls, from a district where Albertine had often gone, brought to a house of assignation. One of them, beneath the caresses of the other, suddenly began to utter sounds which at first I found difficult to identify, for one never understands precisely the meaning of an original sound expressive of a sensation which one does not experience oneself . . . It took me some time, too, to understand that *this* noise expressed what, by analogy with the (very different) sensations I myself had felt, I called pleasure; and the pleasure must have been very great to overwhelm to this extent the person who was expressing it and to extract from her this strange utterance which seemed to describe and comment on the exquisite drama which the young woman was living through and which was concealed from my eyes by the curtain that is forever lowered for other people over what happens in the mysterious intimacy of every human creature.[20]

Let us then draw a figure as follows:



Even if Proust's desires have disappeared with his death, *La recherche* gives us enough indications about them (as did the long-gone Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun about their own desires). These figures of desire that survive in their works are the same ones that cause our own (unconscious) desire as readers; we may not wish to know about it, but our desires implicate us in our work.

Of course, as defined, the Möbian theory of the sign has innumerable applications. But that would be the topic for innumerable books, so I leave it to the readers to imagine and write them, at the risk of frustrating them.

Notes

1. On the dual authorship, see David Hult's study, *Self-Fulfilling Prophecies: Readership and Authority in the First 'Roman de la Rose'* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1986), which considers the part attributed to

Guillaume de Lorris as an independent romance and presents a summary of the "classical" position. On single authorship (or the unity of the romance), see Roger Dragonetti's article, "Pygmalion ou les pièges de la fiction dans le *Roman de la Rose*," in *Orbis mediaevalis: mélanges de langue et de littérature médiévales offerts à Reto Raduolf Bezzola à l'occasion de son quatre-vingtième anniversaire*, ed. Georges Güntert, Marc-René Jung, and Kurt Ringger (Bern: Francke, 1978), pp. 89–111. All quotations from *Le Roman de la Rose* come from the edition by Armand Strubel (Paris: Livre de Poche, 1992), except when otherwise indicated. Translation is mine.

2. For more details, see my study "Le temps dans le *Roman de la Rose,*" in *Il tempo, i tempi: omaggio a Lorenzo Renzi*, ed. Rosanna Brusegan and Michele A. Cortelazzo (Padova: Esedra, 1999), pp. 141–142.
3. See below.
4. *Le Roman de la Rose*, ed. Felix Lecoy, 3 vols. (Paris: Champion, 1965–70) 3: 5.
5. *Le Roman de la Rose*, ed. A. Strubel, p. 1235.
6. "Pope-Holiness" is Dahlerg's translation of "Papelardie." *The Romance of the Rose*, trans. Charles Dahlberg (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), p. 36.
7. Or, by homophony, "the words that nobody can count" (again a double-entendre that, like all of them, is accounted for by the strip).
8. The translation of Lacan's "Il n'y a pas de rapport sexuel" by "There are no sexual relationships" is thus erroneous and generate a lot of misreadings. For Lacan, the sexual act, the existence of which, of course, he does not deny, is an imaginary veil that masks the absence of logical sexual rapport. More on this in my *Lacan Today*: *Psychoanalysis, Science, Religion* (New York: Other Press, 2004).
9. "Pounds" or "books."
10. *Le Roman de la Rose*, ed. Félix Lecoy, vol. 3.
11. See the miniatures reproduced by Giorgio Agamben as well as his reading in *Stanzas: Word and Phantasm in Western Culture*, trans. Ronald L. Martinez, Theory and History of Literature 69 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992), ill. 13–22.
12. *Le Roman de la Rose*, ed. Félix Lecoy, vol. 3.
13. These castles anticipate the last figuration of femininity, the Rose as a dungeon.
14. See A. Leupin, *Barbarolexis, Medieval Writing and Sexuality* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989). Without going into details, the void of the Bible and its commentaries and the void of the *Roman de la Rose* overlap: "God is the space of non (sexual) rapport." François Regnault, *Dieu est inconscient* (Paris: Navarin, 1985), p. 11. I have developed these questions in *Lacan Today*.
15. Hildegarde, *Patrologia Latina* 197: 1010 A; Augustine, De *catechizandis rudibus*, quoted and commented in Henri de Lubac's chapter "Concorde des deux testaments" in *L'exégèse médiévale: les quatres sens de l'écriture*, 4 vols. (Paris: Aubier, 1959–1964) 1: 328.

16. H. de Lubac demonstrates that Christian exegesis is homonymous to Classical allegory. See "La nouveauté chrétienne" in *L'exégèse médiévale*, 2: 511–522.
17. As Lacan reminds us in "La logique du fantasme," *Autres écrits* (Paris: Seuil, 2001), p. 327. On Lacan and the Middle Ages, see my article, "Médiévisme et psychanalyse," *Perspectives Médiévales: numéro jubilaire de la société de langues et de littératures médiévales d'Oc et d'Oïl* (March 2005): 319–336.
18. See Alexandre Kojève, *Introduction à la lecture de Hegel* (Paris: Gallimard, 1980), p. 258, and the introduction to my *Fiction and Incarnation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002).
19. On the relationship between Humanities and Christianity, see my article "The Impossible Copula (Humanities and Judeo-Christianity)," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 29.3 (Summer 1999): 11–20.
20. Marcel Proust, *Remembrance of Things Past*, trans. C. K. Scott Moncrieff and Terence Kilmartin, 3 vols. (New York: Vintage Books, 1982) 2: 561.

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CHAPTER 4

THE MEDIEVAL "AUTHOR": AN IDEA WHOSE TIME HADN'T COME?

Stephen G. Nichols

The "Author," Philology, and Literary Study

The term "author" has become so much a part of our vocabulary and literary attitude that it's natural to feel that it must always have been so. As Heidegger says: "The artist is the origin of the work. The work is the origin of the artist. Neither is without the other."[1] Since the Renaissance, the author has been conceived as the professional "literary figure" who writes works according to conventions, which he both internalizes and transforms to make an "original" creation. Literary criticism, theory, and history were bound to consider the work and the author together.

Opinions have varied radically as to the extent of the author's being *qua* individual that may find expression in his work. What has not been questioned—at least until recently—is the fact of there being an authorial presence behind the work and recoverable through it. T. S. Eliot, for example, argued that the author is someone who comes to grips not with a personal psyche, but with a poetic medium, which he calls "tradition":

> [T]he poet has, not a "personality" to express, but a particular medium, which is only a medium and not a personality, in which impressions and experiences combine in peculiar and unexpected ways. Impressions and experiences which are important for the man may take no place in the poetry, and those which become important in the poetry may play quite a negligible part in the man, the personality.[2]

Kenneth Burke argues, on the other hand, that it may be precisely the discovery of his "personality," or at least aspects of it, that the poet

captures symbolically:

> Consider the hypothetical case of a poet who would identify himself with some particular imagery of transformation selected from . . . the imagery of Life and Death. We can easily conceive of a poet who, wanting to symbolize the transformation of some evil trait within himself, writes a poem accordingly; and in this poem he might identify himself with a figure who, marked by this trait, takes his own life, thereby ritualistically transforming the trait. (That is, if the figure in the fiction possessed some outstanding vice, and slew himself as an act of judgment against this vice, such imagery of suicide could be a ritualistic means whereby the poet sought to purge his own self of this vice, or purified the vice by identifying it with the dignity of death.)[3]

If the concept of the author has been a constant in modern literary study, the ubiquity of the belief has not gone unchallenged. Some forty years ago, Roland Barthes pointed out:

> The author is a modern figure, a product of our society insofar as, emerging from the Middle Ages with English empiricism, French rationalism and the personal faith of the Reformation, it discovered the prestige of the individual, of, as it is more nobly put, "the human person." It is thus logical that in literature it should be this positivism, the epitome and culmination of capitalist ideology, which has attached the greatest importance to the "person" of the author. The *author* still reigns in histories of literature, biographies of writers, interviews, magazines, as in the very consciousness of men of letters anxious to unite their person and their work through diaries and memoirs. *The image of literature to be found in ordinary culture is tyrannically centered on the author, his person, his life, his taste, his passions . . .*[4]

Although Barthes's is arguably the most famous (or most extreme) formulation of the modernity of this concept, it was far from the first. In the late 1940s and 1950s, scholars like Erich Auerbach and Leo Spitzer remarked divergent attitudes toward the author beginning in Early Modern times as opposed to previous eras. In *Mimesis*, Auerbach consistently underlines differences in self-presentation between classical and medieval writers and their post-Renaissance counterparts.[5] In *Linguistics and Literary History*, Leo Spitzer observes that the concept of the author's presence *qua* "individual" in his work derives from the theory of "original genius" not possible before the eighteenth-century. Premodern writers only use associations prompted by a literary tradition. "Dante, Shakespeare, Racine are great literary 'individuals', but they did not (or could not) allow their style to be permeated by personal phobias and idiosyncrasies (even Montaigne when portraying himself, thought of himself as 'l'homme')."[6]

What has been less remarked, however, is the link between the emergence of textual philology and the modern concept of the author. We tend to think of philology as concerned principally with the quest for an original text, the poet's text, the Ur-text. The latter is in no sense simply another text, even one that might be seen as *primus inter pares*. As an ideal construct, the Ur-text, from the perspective of textual philology, has no equals; it is, in the words of Karl Uitti, "the pristine original state" of the work.[7] And indeed the quest for a reliable text, a stable text that reflects something like the author's intentionality has driven philology from the time of Petrarch, Poliziano, and the other early humanists.[8]

Yet philology had, of necessity, to take as its corollary of the search for a stable text, the quest for its originator. That is, the "author," the poet viewed not as authorial agency, but as a "person" in the metaphysical sense of the term; in short, the active "presence" in the text of both a mind and a body. Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht speaks to this phenomenon when he observes: "Text editing conjures up the desire of embodying the text in question, which can transform itself into the desire of also embodying the author of the text."[9] Gumbrecht means that with the advent of rigorous textual criticism, beginning with humanism, the concept of the author arose. Textual philology requires an author. Without an author, there can be no philology.[10] More precisely, we should say that the concept of the work of art as the expression of an individual voice, predicated on a particular life experience originates with humanism. For the humanists wrote about their quest, produced treatises setting forth their doctrines. They also wrote about themselves as authors, demonstrating a keen appreciation for the subtle, psychic relationship between life and literature.

Perhaps the first and most influential personal document of this sort is Petrarch's "Letter to Posterity." Here, Petrarch establishes a new model for what it means to be an author. He defines his trajectory through life, above all his relationship to his world—his birth, childhood, travels, relations with others, his life "project" in short—in relationship to his writing. We need look no further than the exordium to discover the link between life and letters. Petrarch begins by citing his literary reputation as the reason readers could possibly have for learning about his life. As though heeding Heidegger's question "by what and whence is the author what he is?" Petrarch sets out to explain how an exile born in Arezzo could have become the poet he did and how the work allowed him to "emerge as a master of his art."

> Greeting.—It is possible that some word of me may have come to you, though even this is doubtful, since an insignificant and obscure name will scarcely penetrate far in either time or space. If, however, you should have

> heard of me, you may desire to know what manner of man I was, or what was the outcome of my labors, especially those of which some description or, at any rate, the bare titles may have reached you.[11]

Petrarch goes on to describe in this letter the trajectory of his personal and public life, including his travels, various benefactors, and patrons. While he details aspects of his personal and spiritual life—including his youthful struggles with sexual desire—we must read this letter, and "The Ascent of Mount Ventoux," closely allied to it, as examples of how he creates a new concept of a "modern" authorial persona, who grapples not with a transcendent spiritual ascent, like Augustine or Dante, but rather with a concrete, material relationship to the physical world and to history.

The "Ascent of Mount Ventoux" invokes authoritative precursors—Dante and Saint Augustine, for example—in the manner of medieval writers, but does so in a way that marks a difference in perspective. If the "Letter to Posterity" echoes the earlier chapters of *Confessions*, particularly book 3 with its accent on confronting fleshly desire, the "Ascent" conflates Dantean and Augustinean references. As Dante-pilgrim, guided by Virgil and then by Beatrice, ascends the mountain of Purgatory in order ultimately to glimpse the ineffable light of Paradise, so Petrarch ascends Mount Ventoux, a place unclimbed, he is told by a peasant, in living memory. Throughout his narrative, Petrarch makes us aware of the fact that his mountain, unlike Dante's imaginary one, towers over the local landscape, and his climb, unlike Dante's dream allegory, occurs in real time. "For many years I have been minded to make this trip. As you know, my destiny—tossed about as fate buffeted the affairs of men—has been to live since childhood in these parts where this mountain, visible from any direction, is always in your view. So I was at last seized by the impulse to accomplish what I had always wanted to do."[12]

As much as Dante seeks to map the reality of contemporary Italian and papal politics onto an eschatological reckoning that, by definition, will be outside of real time, Petrarch is just as determined to keep his narrative within the sphere of reality, or rather a composite reality consisting of visualized space and time in the present but continually in dialogue with antiquity. He undertakes his ascent, he tells us,

> after having re-read some days ago in Livy's history of Rome how Philip, the king of Macedonia—the one who waged the war against the roman people—ascended Mount Hemo in Thessaly, since he believed the rumor that you can see two seas from its top: the Adriatic and the Black Sea.[13]

Livy's text, and Petrarch's performative reading of it, is what matters here. He is not suggesting that he climbed Mount Ventoux in order to emulate

King Philip. This anecdote, apposite though it be in the context, is simply a heuristic device to make a more profound point. Petrarch casts his ascent of Mount Ventoux as a demonstration of how classical literature, properly understood, enables the modern reader to connect his own environment—the physical context that has heretofore been nothing more than a passive backdrop to daily life—with philosophical and contemplative practices as represented in classical texts. Petrarch does not advocate a mindless aping of antiquity, quite the reverse. Antiquity serves as an example of how true philosophical contemplation does not take place exclusively in the psyche, but rather engages the entire spectrum of one's existence, very much including the physical environment. Petrarch's performative reading illustrates his recognition of what Timothy Reiss calls the "reactive relation" of the person with the "existential spheres" that formed his subjectivity.[14]

Antiquity, Petrarch recognized, understood and taught how the individual, *qua* person, developed from contemplating and discovering "experiences of being whose common denominator was a sense of being *embedded in and acted upon* by [spheres that included] the material world and immediate biological, familial and social ambiences, as well as the soul's . . . cosmic, spiritual or divine life."[15] By showing how his reading acts upon him, Petrarch illustrates his understanding that the individual did not discover himself as a human entity *unique au monde*, according to the modernist paradigm. Rather, he contemplates his existence as imbricated in a continuum that is both temporal and physical.

> Human agency entailed "acceptance" of actions preceding and enveloping their doer, acceptance due to anything from imperative constraint to rational consent. Reasoning and knowing meant slotting oneself into reason and knowledge already present in the universe, "having one's life shaped by a pre-existent rational order." Such experiences of doing and knowing grounded perceptions of the human capacities taken to enable them. *Will* did not name a capacity of an agent subject responsible for actions it alone chose.[16]

Close reading of the "Ascent" reveals a host of classical and scriptural precursors—for example, Ovid, Virgil, Macrobius, St. Anselm, Seneca, Juvenal, Pliny, Livy, Matthew, Job, Psalms, St. Paul, etc.—interwoven throughout the narrative by way of illustrating the intellectual formation in which he and his venture are embedded. The crucial text, however, and the one that demonstrates definitively how Petrarch utilizes performative reading to declare both his embeddedness in tradition, and the independent use he makes of it, is the one to which he alludes at the summit: the *tolle lege* passage from book 8 of Augustine's *Confessions*. In this case, however, if the allusion is clear, so is the modification Petrarch brings to the scene.

Whereas Augustine responds to the voice like a child's crying *tolle lege, tolle lege* [take, read; take, read] by opening a codex of St. Paul, Petrarch, reacting to his contemplation of the view from the summit—the Alps near Lyon, the sea near Marseilles and Aigues Mortes, the Rhone "directly under our eyes"—turns to a codex of St. Augustine given to him by his patron Dionigi, to whom he writes this epistle. Just as the verse from St. Paul dumbfounded Augustine by its appositeness to his situation as he tells it in *Confessions*, so the sentence from Augustine literally takes Petrarch's breath away—or at least the desire to speak for the rest of the day. He takes care, even at the risk of mitigating dramatic tension, of showing just how embedded is the possibility of reading Augustine at this juncture in a web of contemporary and historical relations. Note also the fourfold focus of Petrarch's contemplation: on the vista spread out before his eyes, on the physical book, a gift, that he carries, on the text toward which he turns, and, finally, on the inner thought processes by which he synthesizes these stimuli to arrive at a conclusion about the nature of his own being in relation to the plethora of sensory data.

> While I was admiring [the panorama], at times thinking about earthly things and at times following the example of my body, raising my mind to loftier things, it occurred to me to look into the *Book of Confessions* of St. Augustine, a gift of your kindness, which I shall always keep on hand in remembrance of the author as well as of the donor [Dionigi], a handy little work very small but of infinite sweetness. I opened it and started to read at random, for what can emerge from it except pious and devout things? By chance it was the tenth book of that work to which I opened. My brother stood by attentively to hear me read something from Augustine. May God be my witness and my brother that my eyes happened to light where it was written: "And men go to admire the high mountains, the vast floods of the sea, the huge streams of the rivers, the circumference of the ocean and the revolutions of the stars—and forget themselves."[17]

When he continues by saying, "satisfied that I had seen enough of the mountain, I bent my inner eye toward myself, and from that moment no one heard me speak until we arrived back at the foot of the mountain," we have no doubt as to the complex purpose of Petrarch's intention. Mount Ventoux becomes, as we read the account, at once a defining moment in the life of the poet, and a symbolic manifesto regarding the relationship of present to past, and the poet's responsibility for dealing with it. His experience is personal in the same way the *tolle lege* passage was personal for Augustine, although both render the lesson universal through their written, and public, reflection.

> These words more than occupied my silence, nor could I believe that it happened by chance but rather thought that whatever I had read there had been

> directed to me and to no one else. I recollected how Augustine had supposed the same thing happening to him when in his reading of the book of the Apostle, as he himself relates, he first came across these words: "Not in banquets nor in drunkenness, in beds or in rudeness, in strife or in envy, but put on the Lord Jesus Christ and do not provide nourishment for the flesh in your lusts."[18]

Henceforth, he will seek to make past works accessible to the present and future, less for their authoritative status per se, than for what they can do to reveal the horizons of human contemplation. He cast himself in short as both actor and author; the one who contemplates, reflects in his inner eye, and mediates between past and present. On his view, none of what he has to offer, however, would be worthy of consideration were it not part of his personal experience. Author and text are thus indissolubly entwined in a recursive dynamic of subjective experience.

A century earlier, the experience of writing is very different. While we may have names of poets, we do not have their "persons" in the sense that Petrarch defines himself "for posterity." There are, as always, exceptions like Abelard's *Historia calamitatum*, but this is, in its precociousness, an exception that proves the rule. Its uniqueness may also explain the fascination Abelard's story exercised on later writers like Petrarch, Jean de Meun, and so many others who come to mind. Petrarch, for example, owned and annotated a thirteenth-century manuscript now in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BnF Lat. 2923), which contains Héloise and Abebard's correspondence, including the *Historia Calamitatum*.[19] Jean de Meun, for his part, translated Abelard's letters, and quoted the *Historia* in several important passages in the *Roman de la Rose*.[20] Now, when one thinks about it, those two works deal with authorship in starkly different ways. Whereas Abelard's persona constitutes the subject—in the term's several senses—of the *Historia*, the *Rose* projects a much more complex and blurred picture, continually renewing its "origins."

In fact, this romance offers about as fascinating an example of the work of art in the manuscript age as one could find. Not the least of this allure stems from what we might call its open-ended composition. Far from boasting a single poet presiding over a continuous creative effort, it's a work that, from the moment it was begun seems to have experienced continuations, rewritings, and interventions of different kinds by poets, scribes and artists, both known and anonymous. It is this very plurality of the material structure that renders the work of its editors so difficult. Félix Lecoy, for instance, speaks of the "terrifying mass of variants" posed by the 250 or so manuscripts of the *Rose*.[21] Citing Langlois's efforts at classification of the manuscript tradition, Lecoy characterizes the transmission of

Guillaume's part of the work as "confused, tangled, uncertain, and, frankly, bad."[22] Accordingly, he cites the "rewriting" of couplets, or even passages, by copyists as grounds for rejecting the authority of certain manuscripts so far as Guillaume's text is concerned.[23]

Parenthetically, one may legitimately wonder how—given what he describes as the bad manuscript tradition for Guillaume's poem—Lecoy (or any editor) can assert with confidence that a given reading can be authoritatively labeled a *réfection totale* [complete reworking].[24] Ordinarily, one would need to have the original to substantiate such a statement. Since in these cases that is not possible, editors hypothesize "a logical substitute" based on a consensus of readings for a given passage from control manuscripts. Although each control will vary in minor ways from the other manuscripts for the passage in question, the group as a whole will offer a similar reading. When one runs across a manuscript that proposes a different lesson altogether, by the logic of group consensus, there is little choice but to call it "a complete reworking." Why? Because, from the viewpoint of the text editor, the alternate version sounds a dissonant note in a scenario scripted to recover a single voice, the author's voice. It is the duty of the editor, Lecoy reminds us, to protect "the author's thought" from being betrayed or traduced by the manuscript."[25] What is truly curious—and unremarked—is the esthetic reversal here whereby multiple repetitions of the same take precedence over poetic variation. Usually, of course, esthetic judgment prefers poetic originality. Lecoy himself occasionally frets at the tyranny of conformity. His base manuscript, MS BnF fr. 1573, offers the reading *que j'enromance* [that I romance] at v. 2069. Even though, he says, the expression is "seductive, even probable,"[26] he rejects it because his control manuscripts don't corroborate it. So the felicitous *j'enromance* gives way to the prosaic *j'encomance* [that I begin].

Although variation from the norm may pose a problem for textual philology, from a historical viewpoint they attest to the vitality of collaborative creativity that, at its best, can make different manuscript versions of a work so interesting. In the case of the *Rose*, the collaborative enterprise is extensive, well attested, and often acknowledged by name. To cite only a few examples, in addition to Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun themselves, there is Gui de Mori's revision of the poem from 1290, or named scribes, like Girard Acarce (MS Morgan 948) who portray themselves presenting "their" work to noble patrons; see Morgan 948, fol. 4r, where Acarce kneels before François 1er and presents his *Rose* to the king. Clément Marot "modernized" the *Rose* for the same monarch in 1526 or 1527, an edition reprinted four times between 1529 to 1538.[27] These instances do not include the many anonymous interpolations of shorter or longer passages to be found in *Rose* manuscripts, nor do they include the sumptuous

presentation manuscripts by anonymous scribes, some of which give quite as much space to lavish and ingenuous paintings as they do to the text.

While space does not permit an extended exploration of the "collaborative" composition of the poem here, we can at least gain an insight into the dysfunctional poetic intentionality of the *Rose* by looking at the initial *agon* or struggle for control of the work in what, for us moderns would be the least problematic of gestures: *naming* the work and its writer.

Neither of these acts turns out to be simple or straightforward in this work of multiple poets and names. Moreover, if the *Rose* arguably constitutes a limit case of textual and authorial instability, it is nonetheless and for that reason all the more forceful a lesson on the mode of existence of the medieval literary work. As such, the *Rose* and other vernacular literary works differ markedly from modern conceptions of text and author. It is not that medieval poets wanted it that way. Why would they? We know from the efforts of poets like Dante, Machaut, Petrarch, and others to give their work definitive form that they would have preferred to exercise as much control over their writing as possible.

No, if the will was there, the technology was not, no more than was the idea of personal "rights." If it took the establishment of a print culture to promote the concept of the unique text and author, it took the writer's recognition of his professional standing as author-of-the-unique-text to connect this product with the effort to produce it that gave one the right to call it "intellectual property." But several more centuries would have to elapse after the introduction of printing before the concept of authors' rights would finally be recognized, and, more importantly, confirmed in law. And that did not happen until well into the eighteenth century.

Writing the *Rose*

Everyone knows who wrote the *Roman de la Rose*. At least they think they do. Guillaume de Lorris composed the first four-thousand lines sometime around 1235 and Jean de Meun completed the long dream allegory by writing another 18,000 lines or so some forty years later. Their names appear on the title page of all editions and translations of the poem, as well as in handbooks of literary history. Reading such notices, we recognize how colored they are by the modern concept of authorship. Scholars recount as historical fact information originally internal to the text, now externalized by the authority we accord such informed statements.[28]

We don't know much at all about Guillaume de Lorris, but Jean de Meun's existence in Paris in the late thirteenth century is well attested. That he continued to figure in French literary life may be seen from the numerous copies of his works made throughout the period and even as late as the

reign of François 1er. If his popularity is a matter of record, so, then, is the controversy he aroused: Christine de Pizan famously chastised her long-dead predecessor for his nastiness toward women. These facts are certain, and, in so far as the names of the poets are concerned, come to us on the best of evidence: the work itself, and, initially, exclusively from that source. This, alone, should give pause, and that's what I want to explore in the following pages.

The poem does not name the poets in the preface, where, in any case, it would have been a question of only one poet, Guillaume de Lorris. It could well have done so, for the poet does not hesitate to address the reader in his own voice:

> El vintieme an de mon aage,
> el point qu'Amors prent le paage
> des jones genz, couchier m'aloie
> une nuit, si con je souloie
> et me dormoie mout forment,
> et vi un songe en mon dorment
> qui mout fu biaus et mout me plot;
> mes en ce songe onques riens n'ot
> qui tretot avenu ne soit
> si con li songes recensoit. (21–30)[29]
>
> [When I was twenty years old, just at the age when love takes its toll on youth, I went to bed one night in the usual way, and when I was sound asleep I had an exceedingly lovely dream that pleased me much; but in this dream nothing occurred which did not actually soon come to pass, exactly as the dream foretold].

Although the poet does split himself subjectively between his younger self, shortly to become "*l'Amant*" [the Lover], the protagonist of the dream allegory, and his mature self, the poetic voice, he neither reveals his identity nor gives us more biographical details beyond his accustomed bedtime (at least of his younger self). Instead, it is not until we have read more than ten-thousand lines of the poem that we discover the names of the poets (vv. 10465–10648, Lecoy edition). At this point, Amor cites Guillaume and Jean as he harangues the troops convoked to attack the castle where Jalousie, Dangier, and Male Bouche, among others, have imprisoned Bel Acueil, the character who can grant the Lover access to "the Rose." Amor's discourse focuses less on the identities of the two poets per se than on their status as poetic voices serving him in the tradition of classical love poets like Tibullus, Catullus, and Ovid. We learn that Guillaume is in peril of death at the hands of Jalousie and will die unless Amor and his troops come to his rescue.

In prophetic mode, Amor states that it will not do for Guillaume to die for "he must serve me, and in order to deserve my good will, he has to begin the romance which contains all my commandments."[30] The poet clearly figures here both as a participant in the narrative—one in mortal danger from the action of the story—and as the poet who undertakes the story to do the bidding of Amor by recounting his laws. But in a surreal gesture that combines prophecy and elegy, Amor then says that Guillaume will indeed fulfill his duty but only up to a specific passage in the existing narrative. Then he will die and be honorably entombed. The passage in question, which Amor now recites verbatim, occurs some six thousand lines earlier when Guillaume/Lover, apostrophizes the imprisoned Bel Accueil, saying:

> "Mout sui durement esmaiez
> que entroubliez ne m'aiez
> si ai deul et desconfort,
> ja mes n'iert riens qui me confort
> se je per vostre bienveillance,
> car je n'ai mes ailleurs fiance.
> Ci se reposera Guillaumes,
> cui li tombleaus soit pleins de baumes,
> d'encens, de mirre et d'aloé,
> tant m'a servi, tant m'a loé." (10525–10534)
>
> ["I am sorely troubled lest you have forgotten me, which grieves and discomforts me; were I to lose your good will, I would never again have any comfort, for in nothing else have I faith. Here will lie Guillaume, may his tomb be filled with balm, incense, myrrh, and aloes, so greatly has he served me, so greatly has he praised me."]

With Guillaume gracefully entombed (though he has yet to begin writing), Amor turns to Jean de Meun to explain how he will, more than forty years after Guillaume's death, pick up precisely where his predecessor put down the pen and continue the poem to the end (even though he has, himself, not yet been born):

> Puis vendra Johans Chopinel,
> au cuer jolif, au corps inel,
> qui nestra seur Laire a Meun,
> . . . . . .
> Cist avra le romanz si chair
> qu'il le voudra tout parfenir
> se tens et leus l'en peut venir,
> car quant Guillaumes cessera,
> Jehans le continuera,
> enprés sa mort, que je ne mante,

anz trespassez plus de. XL.,
et dira por la mescheance,
par poor de desesperance
qu'il n'ait de Bel Acueil perdue
la bienvoillance avant eüe:
"Et si l'ai perdue, espoir,
a poi que ne m'en desespoir,"
et toutes les autres paroles,
quex qu'els soient, sages ou foles,
jusqu'à tant qu'il aura coillie
seur la branche vert et foillie
la tres bele rose vermeille
et qu'il soit jorz et qu'il s'esveille. (10535–10537, 10554–10572)

[Then will come Jean Chopinel, light of heart and fleet of body, who will be born on the Loire at Meun . . . He will hold the romance so dear to his heart, that he'll wish to continue it to the end, if he be granted time and place. For when Guillaume breaks off, more than forty years will pass after his death, and then Jean will take it up—let me not lie—at the point where he will say on account of the [lover's] misfortune and despair that he has not after all lost Bel Accueil's good will that he had enjoyed: "and so perhaps I have lost it, and I am close to despair," and all the other words, whatever they may be, wise or foolish, up the point where he finally plucks from the green and leafy branch the beautiful vermillion rose and day breaks and he awakens.]

Amor continues to recount how Jean's birth will, when he has been properly instructed in the art of love, lead to his writing the poem we are, in fact, reading. Despite the ongoing narrative, Amor's revelations impart a retrospective thrust that obliges the reader to pause and at least to rethink the preceding six-thousand lines, if it does not suggest an urgent need to go back and reread the transitional episode altogether. In effect, the mid-point disclosure confronts us with an enigma. Instead of the poem whose purpose and provenance we thought we knew, there is now incontrovertible evidence of a different work, a different origin. That is, undoubtedly, part of Jean's strategy: to force a retro-reading that will permit us to reconsider and re-evaluate what the change in poetic voice says about the works unstable structure.[31]

Jean de Meun raises fundamental questions about the origin of the work of art throughout his part of the poem. He begins obliquely in the first dialogue where he surreptitiously picks up Guillaume's interrupted narrative without comment. The dialogue features lady Reason, a character only briefly mentioned earlier by Guillaume, now transformed by Jean into a formidable dialectician and arch-enemy of Venus, and thus of Amor. One of the first anecdotes Reason tells to the lover, by way of dissuading him from his allegiance to Amor, is the myth of the castration of Saturn by his son Jupiter. Having excised Saturn's testicles, Reason continues, Jupiter throws them

into the sea, here perceived as a maternal womb, for Venus is born from the conjugation of Saturn's testes and the ocean. She tells the story to remind the Lover that Venus was born from this filial aggression, but we also understand the lesson as broaching the issue of one person's illicit appropriation of another's generative power (as in Jean's appropriating Guillaume's work?).

The mythical anecdote occurs as an aside at the beginning of a long speech in which Reason recalls the golden age under Saturn when Justice governed by love held sway. The love that Reason favors (because it tempers justice with mercy) is compassion or even *agape*; but certainly not *eros*, which she rejects as stemming from the contingency associated with *Fortuna*.[32]

> Joutice, qui jadis regnot,
> au tens que Saturnus regne ot,
> cui Jupiter coupa les coilles,
> ses filz, con se fussent andoilles,
> (mout ot ci dur filz et amer)
> puis les gita dedanz la mer,
> donc Venus la deesse issi,
> Car li livres le dit issi (5505–5512)
>
> [Justice, who held sway in the time when Saturn ruled, whose balls Jupiter, his son, cut off as though they were sausages—a really hard and bitter son that one! —then threw them into the sea whence issued Venus, the goddess, just as the book tells us.]

Although the syntax clearly marks the anecdote as an aside, the rhetoric and imagery make it anything but an ancillary bit of lore. First, Jean uses the ordinary language term "coilles," [balls] to refer to the castrated members. This is the first instance in the text of such a solecism. The linguistic effect is akin to detonating a canon; the word "goes off" as it were with a roar capable of reorienting the reader's attention from the main clause to the parenthetical observation. We are not alone. Several hundred lines later, the Lover brings up this word, reproaching lady Reason for its crudity. The ensuing debate between them ignores the original context, foregrounding the expression itself, and with it the anecdote of appropriation and substitution.

Secondly, Jean compounds the effect of earthy language by adding an equally graphic and colorful image when he compares the excised members to "andoilles," [sausages]. The analogy extends the image by evoking "sausage" as phallic form. At the same time, the metonymy devalorizes the victim's stature, since *andouille* has had the immemorial connotation in French of *imbécile*. Loss of social stature and respect befalls those who allow themselves to suffer Saturn's fate—a lesson not lost on Héloise's uncle when he arranged for Abélard to suffer a similar ignominy (an historical fact prominently recalled by Jean on several occasions later in the poem).

The aside takes on the proportion of a mini-poetics once the reader understands the allusions Jean has managed to incorporate in such an apparently unmotivated passage. First, Venus, erotic love, is born from a sordid, not to say heinous crime of appropriation and succession: a parricide, in fact. Erotic desire and violence go hand-in-hand, a point that Reason will make repeatedly in this two-thousand-odd-line diatribe against the folly of Eros. Indeed Reason will expound on the theme of disordered desire and violence in a series of examples immediately following the castration scene: for example, Virginius's beheading of his daughter Virginie to prevent her being raped by Appius; or Nero's having his mother's stomach sliced open so he could see the womb whence he issued, etc. These establish not only the relationship of violence and erotic love, but also the history of intergenerational family aggression.

Implicit also here is the link between Venus and the poetry written in her honor. From the time of the troubadours on, the Middle Ages accorded multiple meanings to the term "Amor," chief among these being to designate lyric poetry whose theme was love. As we know, the Occitan art of poetry bears the title *Les leys d'amor* [*The Laws of Love*]. That Guillaume had this traditional equation of love and poetry in mind can be seen from the couplet he incorporates into his prologue: "ce est li *Romanz de la Rose* / ou l'art d'Amors est tote enclose" (37–38) [this is the *Romance of the Rose* / in which the whole art of Love is enclosed], a couplet that becomes the work's identifying figure by its inscription on the incipit of many manuscripts: "Cy commence le rommant de la rose / ou l'art d'amor est tout enclose" [Here begins the romance of the rose / in which the whole art of love is enclosed].

Daniel Heller-Roazen has recently recalled that it was Roger Dragonetti who first pointed out the anagram that makes *eros* a figure for the *rose* and vice versa.[33] The medieval penchant for such anagrams is not a matter of rhetorical cleverness but instead reminds readers that rather than excluding each other, opposites often evoke, even contain their contraries—cf. Eva/Ave for the Virgin Mary and Eve. In this case, the implications go far to underscore the problematic dialectic between erotic desire, its celebration in lyric and romance, and the complex, if veiled, interplay of power and aggression such poetry evokes.[34] *Amor* is, of course, the term for Eros, the son of Venus. It is not simply that a new dynasty with close ties to the natural world arises from the dismemberment of Saturn; that was already well established in classical mythology. No, the novelty here is that Jean has openly grafted this genealogy onto the equally well-known poetics of French love poetry with anything but common-place results.

This unconventional juxtaposition suggests why we find three distinctly different attitudes toward erotic love and the poetry that celebrates it in the

dialogue between Reason and the Lover. First, the viewpoint of moral philosophy. For Reason, the sordid and scandalous birth of Venus symbolizes the disorder of erotic love so roundly denounced in her long diatribe. She counsels something like the golden mean in the Lover's behavior: "Just because I forbid drunkenness doesn't mean that I forbid drinking:"[35]

> Sez tu pas qu'il ne s'ensuit mie,
> se lessier veill une folie,
> que fere doie autele ou graindre?
> Ne por ce se je veill estaindre
> la fole amor a quoi tu bees,
> conmant je por ce que tu haies.
> Ne te sovient il pas d'Orace,
> qui tan ot de sen et de grace?
> Horaces dit, qui n'est pas nices,
> quant li fol eschivent les vices,
> si se tornent a leurs contraires,
> si n'en vaut pas mieuz leurs affaires;
> n'amor ne veill je pas deffendre
> que l'en n'i doie bien entendre,
> fors qu'a cele qui les genz blece. (5699–5713)
>
> [Don't you know that if I allow myself to commit one folly, it does not follow that I must do another one, similar or worse? This is why, if I want to snuff out this insane love that you lust after, I do not command that you hate. Don't you remember Horace, so full of wisdom and grace? Horace, who was no fool, says that when those besotted with vices flee them, it is only to run the harder after their opposites, and this does nothing to improve matters. Let it be clearly understood that I do not forbid love itself, but only the kind that harms people.]

Second, we have the Lover's viewpoint firmly committed to the conventional rhetoric of *fin'amors*. The courtliness of courtly love refers as much to the maintenance of refined linguistic codes as to its social milieu. And, of course, the code of linguistic refinement seeks to veil the primal scene of violence underlying passionate love. The Lover evokes that code in reproving Reason's "lapse" into ordinary language:

> Si ne vos tiegn pas a cortaise
> quant ci m'avez coilles nomees,
> qui ne sunt pas bien renomees
> en bouche a cortaise pucele.
> Vos, qui tant estes sage et bele,
> ne sai con nomer les osastes,
> au mains quant le mot ne glosastes

par quelque cortaise parole,
si con preude fame en parole (6898–6906)

[I hardly think it courtly for you to use the term "balls," which is unseemly coming from the mouth of a refined young woman. I can't imagine how you, who are so wise and beautiful, can dare to name them, instead of glossing the word by some courtly euphemism, in the manner that noble women have of speaking.]

Jean himself, however, offers us a third viewpoint that takes a less circumscribed view than those of Reason or the Lover, by reminding the reader of the dynamics of the scene as a whole. We know this because the Lover rejects Reason's lesson in moral philosophy, not only to remain faithful to what Reason has called his *fole amor*, but also, as we have just witnessed, to return to the word evoking the scene of castration: "Mes oï vos ai nomer ci, / si con moi semble, une parole / si esbaulevree et si fole / que, qui vodroit, ce croi, muser / a vos emprendre a escuser, / l'en ni porroit trover deffenses" (5670–5675) [Now it seems to me that I heard you utter a word so shameless and outrageous, that, in my judgment, if anyone took it upon himself to accuse you, it would be impossible to defend yourself].

While the Lover has excellent dialectical reasons to discredit Reason—though the task turns out to require more sophistication than he possesses, as John Fleming pointed out over twenty years ago[36]—there's more at stake here than a simple accusation of linguistic impropriety. The long and spirited defense that Reason mounts against the Lover's accusation permits Jean to cite historical, mythological, and social examples equating love and violence. This suggests that Jean wants to establish, early in his poem, the idea that the invention of love occurs as the result of two related acts: the usurpation of power via castration, and the creative disposition of the excised generative organs.

In each case, it is the testicles principally that provide the focus of the action and its consequences: Jupiter arrogates Saturn's power to himself by castrating his father, and invents erotic love, and, by extension, its poetic expression, by "mating" the testes with the sea. This provides an unexpected, indeed illogical consequence to the aggression that deserves pondering for a moment. There is something strange in this sequence. How can procreation result from excising the organs of generation? Yet Saturn's seed has made the sea fecund with Venus. The anomaly here is Jupiter. He it is who impregnates the ocean: not with his *own*, but with *his father's* semen. As heretical as the thought may be for our own sex-obsessed culture, on this account, power resides not in the sexual act per se, but with control over the generative scenario.

Jean seems to be saying that, unlike ordinary procreation, Venus and her poetry require a mediating agent, a third party. Indirect generation—an

oblique gaze on the erotic act—produces if not love poetry tout court, then certainly the love treatise, *l'art d'amour*, that is *toute enclose* in the *Rose*. Is it for this reason that this poem has such an abundance of mediating agents from the very beginning? Think of Guillaume de Lorris's mature poetic persona presiding over the dream exposition; or of Amor as tutelary genius, first at the *fontaine périlleuse*, then at the poem's midpoint; or of Jean as the successor to Guillaume as the guiding spirit for the Lover who improbably survives the death of his older self, Guillaume the poet. And we can all think of other examples.

While critics have recently tended to equate the pen and the phallus, Jean emphasizes the scrotum—for which the medieval French term was *bourse* or purse—as the operative force of generation. If the testes are the generative force in this scenario, castration—poetic borrowing and appropriation—is the act that releases that generative force by putting the *bourse* in circulation. Whoever controls the *bourse* controls the work. Is not the dried flesh of the parchment manuscript at least figuratively something akin to this *bourse*?

Jean de Meun does no more than adumbrate these themes obliquely in the dialogue between Reason and the Lover, but he returns to them more and more explicitly as the work progresses, and with ever more portentous implications for the poem, particularly as regards its philosophy of poetic invention. In so doing, Jean offers a radically different view of thematic appropriation and borrowing that is so common a trait of medieval vernacular literature (as Marie de France forthrightly states in the "Prologue" to her *Lais*).

Whereas for Guillaume de Lorris and other poets of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, adapting, translating, and rewriting pre-existing works was a natural poetic process, Jean de Meun portrays it in rather more brutal terms. Although, as we saw, he has Amor portray him as the chosen successor to Guillaume who has died before his birth, the work as a whole—beginning with the passages we have just examined—suggests a less anodyne scenario. To understand exactly what Jean is getting at, and why he has so complex a relationship between Amor's belated naming scene and the beginning of his section, we must look at how Guillaume de Lorris begins the *Rose*.

And it is a strangely oblique, almost abrupt beginning. Rather than announcing that he intends to write a dream allegory with a dual narrative focus—a love adventure of the poet's younger self experienced in a dream recounted by the mature poet—Guillaume breaks into speech with an assertion about how people view dreams.[37] Are they or are they not prophetic? Do they or do they not come true? Calling Macrobius as witness, and thus placing his own dream allegory under the authoritative

aegis of Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* (of which Macrobius had written a well-known commentary), Guillaume raises the question of how to evaluate the work even before he tells us what the work will be.

> Qui c'onques cuit ne qui que die
> qu'il est folor et musardie
> de croire que songes aviegne,
> qui se voudra, por fol m'en tiegne,
> quar endroit moi ai ge fiance
> que songes est senefiance
> des biens as genz et des anuiz,
> que li plusor songent de nuiz
> maintes choses covertement
> que l'en voit puis apertement. (11–20)
>
> [Whoever believes and says that it is folly and fantasy to believe that dreams come true, let him who so wishes think me foolish for believing that dreams do indeed foretell the good and ill that befall folk; for many people have dreamed secretly at night things that subsequently happen in real life.]

Guillaume now begins to speak of the origin of the work in a dream that befell him some five years previously. But thanks to the opening discussion about the prophetic nature of dreams—and the appeal to classical precedent—Guillaume conveys the impression of an "immaculate" conception for his poem. As a dream vision, it comes under the heading of revelation. Instead of borrowing and adapting the work of precursors—Boethius, Martianus Capella, Alain de Lille, and other *auctores*, all of whom we know to be reflected in the *Rose*—the work constitutes an oneiric revelation, a divine prophecy.

Jean plays directly—and satirically—to this vision in Amor's long naming scene. There, we recall, Jean has Amor prophesy the life and death of Guillaume and the birth and poetic fame of Jean himself as continuator of the poem—"I will lend him my wings and sing such melodies to him, that, once he has left childhood behind, and I have taught him my doctrines, he will sing our words in the crossroads and schools in the language of France."[38] We can now see that Jean satirically invokes the prophetic vision Guillaume cites at the beginning, while at the same time exposing its pretentiousness. How so?

First of all, he counts on the reader's remembering Guillaume's claim that dreams were considered prophetic. Guillaume, of course, knew that works like the *Song of Roland* and others that made use of prophetic dream visions, did not actually show the divine source of the vision.[39] By bringing Amor on stage to prophesy what Guillaume had only hinted at, Jean literalizes the original prologue in a wonderfully outrageous fashion. In essence, he undermines Guillaume's rhetorical strategy of mystery and deferral.

Guillaume chose the path of narrative tension whereby the unfolding of the plot would putatively have revealed the truth of the original claim that dreams really do foretell future events. Jean, on the other hand, aborts that tactic by having Amor simply announce what will happen. Enigma and tension dissolve along with the pretense that the dream and its narrative "really happened." At the same time, by reminding us that Guillaume de Lorris has long since died without completing the poem, Jean throws the status of Guillaume-lover into doubt. Like Aeneas in the Underworld in book 6 of the *Aeneid*—the prophetic section of this epic that occurs at the mid-point of the twelve books (another hint as to why Jean would defer Amor's revelation until the mid-point of the *Rose*?)—the Lover will play out the remainder of the poem in the dream that has now become "the big sleep." There is literally no possibility that Guillaume-lover can awaken, no longer any pretense that the dream can "come true." What *can* happen, what *has* happened is that Jean has arrived to write the posthumous life of Guillaume and his alter ego, the Lover.

Looking at the operative lines in *Amor's* prophesy, we can see how Jean, recognizing that Guillaume "invented" himself in a vision, has the God of Love dispose of him in the same way:

> Ci se reposera Guillaumes,
> cui li tombleaus soit pleins de baumes,
> d'encens, de mirre et d'aloé,
> tant m'a servi, tant m'a loé. (10531–10534)
>
> [Here will lie Guillaume, may his tomb be filled with balm, with incense, myrrh and aloes, for he has served me so well and praised me so handsomely.]

It is the otherwise antecedentless "ci" [here] that alerts us to the fact that the poem itself constitutes Guillaume's tomb, reminding us of the medieval connotation of *tumulus* "tombeau," which not only could be a tomb made of stone, but also a commemorative work. This is the sense that comes into modern French in which *tombeau* designates a poem commemorating or celebrating a deceased person as in Mallarmé's poems, *Le tombeau d'Edgar Poë*, or *Le tombeau de Baudelaire*.[40]

Guillaume's pretension of making his romance a prophetic dream finally suggests why Jean handles the naming sequence as he does. First, he defers it for some six thousand lines after Guillaume breaks off. That is to say, he defers until he has constructed a poetic edifice half again as long as the original. Although very different in tone, the new poem refers constantly to the original, even reprising scenes and characters first encountered there. But the insistent specularity has been deliberately skewed as though refracted through a prism (a device first introduced by Guillaume). Jean points to this

dynamic of asymmetrical specularity when he has Amor announce the altered title for the poem: *le Miroër aus Amoreus* (10621).

Second, Jean does not name Guillaume de Lorris or himself in his own voice, but through an intermediary—exactly the strategy by which Jupiter presides over Venus's creation. In naming the poets and prophesying the future writing of the poem, Amor irrevocably transforms the project. It will now become what his elected poet chooses to make it. In short, Amor evokes the "Jupiter principle"—creation by castration and usurpation. Is it for this reason that immediately before he prophesies the death of Guillaume and the birth of Jean, Amor describes the birth and genealogy of *Faux Semblant*?

Third, Amor refers so specifically to the passages in which Guillaume stops and Jean begins—quoting the exact lines in each case—as to send the reader back to the sections in question. Armed with the revelation that these sections were written by different people, the reader inevitably finds new meaning in the passages, as we saw.

This is, on a larger scale, precisely the technique that Jean employs when the Lover—after some hundreds of lines have elapsed—forces Reason (and the reader) to return to and reconsider the passage where the term "coilles" appeared. The principle of "retro-reading" here established clearly constitutes an important part of Jean's poetics. It also differentiates his approach from that of Guillaume.

To begin with, Jean de Meun understood exactly the hostile nature of appropriation and adaptation. He did not shrink from demonstrating it with reference to his relationship to Guillaume. This gives a new sense to Amor's boast when he prophecies that his preferred love poet, Jean, will, once he is born and ready to undertake the continuation of Guillaume's poem, "vodra si la chose espondre / que riens ne s'i porra respondre" (10573–10574) [so wish to reveal the thing, that nothing more need be said].[41] Indeed, everything Jean does, at some level, may be taken as a dialectical reformulation of Guillaume's project in larger philosophical terms.

Yet, as clearly as we can trace the palimpsest of Guillaume's project under Jean's rewriting, the plethora of *Rose* manuscripts, in their turn, overlay Jean's work with their own commentary and glosses in the form of miniature paintings, historiated and decorated initials, extensive rubrication, bas-de-page paintings, and often elaborate marginal decoration, not to mention interpolations of diverse lengths. These may *espondre* or reveal Jean's ideas—as we see in the vivid miniatures depicting the castration of Origen or the emasculation of Samson when Delilah approaches the sleeping strongman with not one but two pairs of oversize scissors.[42] Or they may impose their own interpretation on his passages. But, whatever their effect, they demonstrate that for the medieval poet, the material structure of

a work, that is its contingent existence in multiple manuscript copies, was an ineluctable fact of life.

For the Middle Ages, the original poet is a palimpsest in the manuscript, one voice among several, and indeed a voice that, not unlike Echo's—though perhaps not quite so severely limited as Guillaume's evocation of her plight—can only repeat the last words of the scribe's discourse or the artist's vision. Under the circumstances, can we really speak of the medieval author in the same sense as his modern counterpart?

Notes

1. Martin Heidegger, "The Origin of the Work of Art," in *Poetry, Language, Thought*, translated by Albert Hofstadter (New York: Harper & Row, 1975), p. 79.
2. T. S. Eliot, "Tradition and the Individual Talent," *Selected Essays*, New Edition (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1950), p. 9. Writing ten years later, in 1929, Eliot begins his essay on Dante even more emphatically: "In my own experience of the appreciation of poetry I have always found that the less I knew about the poet and his work, before I began to read it, the better. . . . an elaborate preparation of historical and biographical knowledge has always been to me a barrier." "Dante," *Selected Essays*, p. 199.
3. Kenneth Burke, *A Rhetoric of Motives* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 10th printing, 1984), p. 12.
4. Roland Barthes, "The Death of the Author," in *Image, Music, Text*, ed. and trans. Stephen Heath (New York: Hill & Wang, 1977), pp. 142–143. My emphasis.
5. Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation Of Reality in Western Literature*, trans. Willard R. Trask (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953). See, in particular, essays on Homer, Tacitus, the *Chanson de Roland*, etc.
6. Leo Spitzer, *Linguistics and Literary History* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1962), p. 32, n. 7.
7. Karl D. Uitti, "Philology," *The Johns Hopkins Guide to Literary Theory & Criticism* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), p. 567b.
8. For a fuller discussion of the paradigm of textual philology, including the idea of "one text, one author" that it fosters, see my article "Petrarch and the Paradigm of Textual Philology," to appear in *Petrarca(s) Philologie*, ed. Gerhard Regn and Andreas Käblitz. Forthcoming in 2007.
9. Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, *The Powers of Philology: Dynamics of Textual Scholarship* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003), pp. 6–7.
10. This is not to say, obviously, that there are not writers before the fourteenth century. Nor does it mean that poets were not visible in their works in earlier periods. Troubadours, for example, celebrated their desire, their world, their beliefs; but they chose to represent themselves by their mastery of poetic form and of love—the two being synonymous in their amorous economy. They did not sing of themselves as what we would call "authors."

Rutebeuf, perhaps the most "confessional" of medieval poets writes at length about his condition as husband, Parisian, gambling addict, indigent; he does not write reflectively about himself as author. Which is not to say that he—or other poets of the period—do not speak about writing.

11. "Fuerit tibi forsan de me aliquid auditum; quanquam et hoc dubium sit, an exiguum et obscurum longe nomen seu locurum seu temporum perventurum sit. Et illud forsitan optabis nosse: quid hominis fuerim aut quis operum exitus meorum, eorum maxime quorum ad te fama pervenerit vel quorum tenue nomen audieris." Francesco Petrarca, *Lettera ai posteri*, ed. Gianni Villani (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 1990), p. 34. English translation: James H. Robinson, *Francesco Petrarca: The First Modern Scholar and Man of Letters* (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1898), p. 59.
12. "Multis iter hoc annis in animo fuerat; ab infantia enim his in locis, ut nosti, fato res hominum versante, versatus sum; mons autem hic late undique conspectus, fere semper in oculis est. Cepit impetus tandem aliquando facere quod quotidie faciebam . . ."'Ad Dyonisium de Burgo Sancti Sepulcri ordinis sancti Augustini et sacre pagine professorem, de curis propriis." Francesco Petrarca, *Familiarium rerum libri*, IV: 1, in *Prose*, ed. G. Martelloti, P. G. Ricci, E. Carrara, and E. Bianchi, La Letteratura Italiana: Storia e Testi 7 (Milan: Riccardo Ricciardi Editore, 1955), p. 830. Translation with my own modifications: "The Ascent of Mount Ventoux," in *The Renaissance Philosophy of Man*, ed. E. Cassirer et al. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), p. 36. See also, Francesco Petrarca, *Rerum familiarum libri I—VIII*, trans. Aldo S. Bernardo (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1975), p. 172.
13. ". . . precipue postquam relegenti pridie res romanas apud Livium forte ille michi locus occurrerat, ubi Philippus Macedonum rex—is qui cum populo Romano bellum gessit—Hemum montem thesalicum conscendit, e cuius vertice duo maria videri, Adriaticum et Euxinum, fame crediderat . . ." *Prose*, p. 830. Translation: Bernardo, p. 172.
14. Timothy J. Reiss, *Mirages of the Selfe: Patterns of Personhood in Ancient and Early Modern Europe* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), p. 2.
15. Reiss, *Mirages*, p. 2. Reiss's emphasis.
16. Reiss, *Mirages*, p. 2.
17. "Que dum mirarer singula et nunc terrenum aliquid saperem, nunc exemplo corporis animum ad altiora subveherem, visum est michi *Confessionum* Augustini librum, caritatis tue munus, inspicere; quem et conditoris et donatoris in memoriam servo habeoque semper in manibus: pugillare opusculum, perexigui voluminis sed infinite dulcedinis. Aperio, lecturus quicquid occurreret; quid enim nisi pium et devotum posset occurrere? Forte autem decimus illius operis liber oblatus est. Frater expectans per os meum ab Augustino aliquid audire, intentis auribus stabat. Deum testor ipsumque qui aderat, quod ubi primum defixi oculos, scriptum erat: 'Et eunt hominess admirari alta montium et ingentes fluctus maris et latissimos lapsus fluminum et occeani ambitum et giros siderum, et relinquunt se ipsos.' " (This quotation comes from: Augustine, *Confessions*, 10. 8. 15). *Prose*, p. 840. Translation: Bernardo, p. 178 (with modifications).

18. "Tunc vero montem satis vidisse contentus, in me ipsum interiores oculos reflexi, et ex illa hora non fuit qui me loquentem audiret donec ad ima pervenimus; satis mihi taciti negotii verbum illud attulerat. *Nec opinari poteram id fortuito contigisse, sed quicquid ibi legeram, mihi et non alteri dictum rebar*; recolens quod idem de se ipso suspicatus olim esset Augustinus, quando in lectione codicis Apostolici, ut ipse refert, primum sibi occurrit: 'Non in comessationibus et ebrietatibus, non in cubilibus et impudicitiis, non in contentione et emulatione; sed induite Dominum Iesu Cristum, et carnis providentiam ne feceritis in concupiscentiis vestris'." *Prose*, pp. 840, 842. Translation: Bernardo, p. 178 (with modifications).
19. Abelard, *Historia Calamitatum*, ed. Jacques Monfrin (Paris: Vrin, 1959), pp. 18–19. I am indebted to Virginie Greene for this reference.
20. Jean recounts the story of Héloise and Abelard in vv. 8729–8802 of the *Rose*. Guillaume de Lorris et Jean de Meun, *Le Roman de la Rose*, ed. Félix Lecoy, Les Classiques français du moyen âge 95, 3 vols. (Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1966), vol. 2. For a discussion of Jean de Meun and Abelard's *Historia*, see the Eric Hicks's introduction to his edition of the translation of Abelard's life and letters attributed to Jean de Meun: *La Vie et les epistres Pierres Abaelart et Heloys sa fame. Traduction du XIIIe siècle attribuée à Jean de Meun* (Paris-Geneva: Champion-Slatkine, 1991).
21. "E. Langlois s'est donné beaucoup de mal pour essayer de mettre un peu d'ordre dans l'effroyable amas de variantes que présentent nos manuscrits." Guillaume de Lorris et Jean de Meun, *Le Roman de la Rose*, ed. Félix Lecoy, vol. 1, p. xxxvii.
22. "La tradition de la première partie est confuse, embrouillée, incertaine, et pour tout dire, mauvaise . . . ." Lecoy, vol. 1, p. xxxvi.
23. Lecoy, vol. 1, pp. xl-xli.
24. "Le texte de Guillaume de Lorris donné par le [MS. BnF f.fr.] 1573 est médiocre, défiguré par un grand nombre d'erreurs de toutes sortes, depuis le simple lapsus de plume jusqu'à la réfection totale de certains vers, même de certains couplets, dont la leçon originale était sans doute perdue dans la lignée manuscrite à laquelle appartient notre copie . . .". Lecoy, vol. 1, pp. xl–xli.
25. "Nous ne possédons pas, en effet, pour nos textes anciens, de copies sans reproche, sans lapsus, sans faute ou sans écart individuel. L'éditeur se voit donc obligé d'intervenir, c'est-à-dire de corriger son modèle, là où celui-ci est franchement barbare, d'abord, mais là aussi où ce même modèle lui apparaît trahir trop violemment la pensée de l'auteur . . .". Lecoy, vol. 1, p. xxxix.
26. "La leçon *enromance* n'apparaît pas dans nos manuscrits de contrôle. Elle est séduisante, probable même, mais, fait notable, n'est que médiocrement attestée." Lecoy, vol. 1, p. xlii, n. 2.
27. Lecoy, vol 1, p. xxxii.
28. Even so cautious a notice as that given by Félix Lecoy in the introduction to his three-volume edition of the *Rose* illustrates how textual ploy and play become transmuted to historical fact. Here are the first lines of his introduction: "Le *Roman de la Rose* est l'œuvre de deux auteurs qui y ont travaillé

successivement, Guillaume de Lorris et Jean Chopinel (ou Clopinel—les manuscrits hésitent entre les deux formes, mais les meilleurs donnent Chopinel) de Meun, le second ayant repris et achevé l'œuvre interrompue du premier." Lecoy, vol. 1, p. v.

29. *Le Roman de la Rose*, ed. F. Lecoy, vol. 1. All quotations are from this edition and all translations are my own.
30. "Et plus oncor me doit servir, / car por ma grace deservir / doit il commancier le romant / ou seront mis tuit mi commant . . ."(vol. 2, 10517–10520).
31. Of course, once the *Rose* had attained popularity and become a known entity, it was impossible to maintain the fiction of a single poet until the mid-point revelation. People knew there were two authors. At that point, they wanted naturally enough to know where the break occurs. That is why most manuscripts, and now printed editions, indicate where Guillaume leaves off and Jean begins. They do so via an illumination showing Jean composing at his desk, or by inserting rubrics in the form of couplets. The lack of surprise in no way detracts from one's appreciation of the poetics of the new voice.
32. "The fullest development of the figure of Fortune is to be found in the second part of the romance, in which Jean de Meun, recalling a figure mentioned only once in the first half of the work (vv. 3953–3963), dedicates over two thousand lines to the description, analysis, and judgment of Fortune by Reason (vv. 4673–6870). . . . Here Reason, whose teaching draws on a series of classical, late ancient, and medieval *auctores*, articulates her discourse on love as a polemic against a single, unexpected figure: Fortune." Daniel Heller-Roazen, *Fortune's Faces: The* Roman de la Rose *and the Poetics of Contingency* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), pp. 64 and 65.
33. Heller-Roazen, *Fortune's Faces*, p. 65; Roger Dragonetti, "Pygmalion ou les pièges de la fiction dans le *Roman de la Rose*," *Orbis Medievalis: Mélanges d'études de langue et literature médiévales offerts à R. R. Bezzola*, ed. Georges Güntert, Marc-René Jung, and Kurt Ringger (Bern: Francke Verlag, 1978), p. 99 [89–111].
34. Jean de Meun incorporates another clue to the problematic nature of his portrayal of love by having Amor—in the long scene in which he names the poets and offers his account of the work's origin with which we began—change the name of the work to the *Miroër aus Amoreus*: "car tant en lira proprement / que tretuit cil qui ont a vivre / devroient apeler ce livre / le *Miroër aus Amoreus*, / tant i verront de bien por eu, / mes que Reson ne soit creüe / la chetive, la recreüe" (10618–10624).
35. Por ce se je deffent ivrece, / ne voil je pas deffendre a boevre (5714–5715).
36. John V. Fleming, *Reason and the Lover*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984).
37. Aucunes genz dient qu'en songes / n'a se fables non et mençonges; / mes l'en puet tex songes songier / qui ne sont mie mençoniger, / ainz sont aprés bien aparant (1–5).

38. "je l'afubleré de mes eles / et li chanteré notes teles / que, puis qu'il sera hors d'enfance, / endoctrinez de ma sciance, / si fleütera noz paroles / par carrefors et par escoles / selonc le langage de France" (10607–10613).
39. Dream visions traditionally showed at most a saintly emissary mediating between the human dreamer and the divine source. So St. James of Compostella appears to Charlemagne to urge him to free James's sepulcher at Compostella in the *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotolandi* of the Codex Calixtinus.
40. Certain illuminations corroborate this point by showing Guillaume reverently laid out, naked and ready for burial, while Jean de Meun—or the now orphaned Lover—stands outside the viewing room. See for example, the half-page miniature painting in the Pierpont Morgan Library's MS Morgan 948, fol. 44r, which situates this scene precisely at the end of Guillaume's section and the beginning of Jean's. This manuscript may be viewed at the Hopkins *Rose* Project website, a joint undertaking of the Milton S. Eisenhower Library and the Department of Romance Languages at Johns Hopkins University: http://rose.mse.jhu.edu/
41. Lecoy's note to vv. 10573–10574 is revealing. He does not seem to accept the fact that Jean eschews Guillaume's allegorical mode, and that the promised exposition has and is taking place in the sections we have discussed as well as in others to come. "Ces deux vers semblent annoncer une 'exposition' du songe, c'est-à-dire, sans doute, un commentaire en clair du poème allégorique (lequel, il faut le reconnaître, n'en avait guère besoin). Cette 'exposition,' cette interprétation n'existe pas, mais il est possible que Jean de Meun y ait vraiment pensé, car il reviendra sur cette annonce ou cette promesse aux vers 15115–15123." Lecoy, vol. 2, p. 279.
42. Bodleian Library, MS. Douce 195, fol. 122v, and fol. 120r. This, and six other manuscripts may be consulted on line at the website of the *Roman de la Rose* Project: http://rose.mse.jhu.edu/

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CHAPTER 5

FROM ONE MASK TO ANOTHER: THE TRIALS AND TRIBULATIONS OF AN AUTHOR OF ROMANCE AT THE TIME OF *PERCEFOREST*

Anne Berthelot

Translation: *Darla Gervais*

Whether it be the prologue to the *Lais* by Marie de France or the prologues to the romances of Chrétien de Troyes, twelfth-century texts are never evasive about the importance of the issue of authorship: how does one write a text, how does one claim for oneself the status of writer, how does one justify the unbelievable presumptuousness of undertaking any *mise en écrit* [writing down], made worse by the choice of the vernacular and the audacity of appending one's signature, be it fictional? Chrétien, Marie, Gautier d'Arras, and Païen de Mézières, and, somewhat later, Renaud de Bâgé and Jean Renart keep on rehashing various ways of answering these questions. That is not to say that Robert de Boron and his thirteenth-century successors were less interested in this issue, but there is a certain sense in which the choice of the prose form brought about some sort of balance for authors in this area and solved the problem temporarily by pushing it back into the narrative space. Robert and Hélie de Boron, Luces de Gast or Walter Map (that is, the improbable reincarnation of the genuine twelfth-century Latin polygraph!) are mostly fictional figures, each one playing his role on the threshold of the romance as if he acted on the parvis of a church in a play staging the conditions of the romance writing, thereby saving any hypothetical real authors the trouble of placing themselves in a not yet imaginable system of representations.

Yet this cluster of questions, which writers of the great prose cycles had been able to put off or master through trompe l'oeil composition during

two or three generations, returns with a vengeance at the end of the thirteenth century and during most of the fourteenth. These questions infect all narrative areas but display a marked preference for the *matière de Bretagne* [Breton material] and its derivatives, and they become so acute as to actually hinder the composition of the work proper. The techniques used to overcome this block might be different from one text to another; nonetheless, they always point to the same impossibility of assuming responsibility for a text and the same hopeless quest for an impeccable assignation locking the text into place, both in its ancestry and descent, thus guaranteeing its authenticity at all levels. In this chapter, I study two different cases that look strangely alike, responding to one another through a dense network of echoes from a distance of some thirty or forty years. The first is that of Bandoin Butor, author of the "four drafts" (as Lewis Thorpe, their editor, has called them) of the *Roman des fils du roi Constant*[1]; the second is the *Roman de Perceforest*—better known because of the remarkable editorial work carried out by Gilles Roussineau—which I examine more briefly and essentially as a point of comparison to the former work.[2]

In the case of Baudoin Butor, the term "romance" is poetic exaggeration, and that is precisely the problem. The text does not exist, never manages to come into existence, despite repeated efforts by its author. What does exist, however, is the *announcement* of a text, with all the apparatus for a prologue carefully put together, repeated from one draft to another and providing the same information, while on the other hand the narrative content, whenever it is actually written, is strikingly heterogeneous. The *Roman des fils du roi Constant* is clearly in the tradition of *Merlin* by Robert de Boron—a prose text almost eighty years old at the time the presumed Baudoin Butor begins his enterprise. Just as Thomas of England or Guernes de Pont-Sainte-Maxence[3] (and many others) before him, Baudoin Butor intends to correct earlier works and to give, finally, the correct version of the facts. Like the authors of the prose-romances tree, he wants to complete the pre-existing corpus and fill in the gaps in the *Merlin*, which indeed does not spell out in much detail Vortigern's loves or the years of exile of Uther and Pendragon in Brittany. Like all of the compilers of the great cyclical manuscripts, he dreams of inserting newly minted characters into the still rather loose plot of the chronicles of Britain.

Thus, the title he gives to what is to become his work has nothing to do either with the sons of King Constant or any other known character of the Arthurian world:

> Ichi en apriés porrés oïr les histoires de Dafinor et Doruant et de Pierchefier, liqueil furent frere et fil au bon roi de Thailleborch.[4]
>
> [Hereafter you will be able to hear the stories of Dafinor and Dorvant and of Pierchefier, who were the brothers and son of the good king of Taillebourg.]

A detail left out by Thorpe in his edition ought to be mentioned first: the title he places at the top of the first draft actually appears in folio 108v of MS BnF f. fr. 1446, in the margins and blanks of which Baudoin Butor has been composing his work, beginning in folio 70v. This sketching-out is thus a second attempt, and is much shorter than the first (367 lines in the edition compared to 979) and is rather logically followed by two other even shorter attempts: the third draft is but a 53-line prologue and an extremely terse (two lines) introductory phrase to the narrative; the fourth, which on the contrary almost totally eliminates the prologue, bringing it into proportion with the text it precedes, totals 280 lines. It would thus seem that the author, despite the sophistication of the layout and organization of the prologue in the second draft, was discouraged by the failure of his first attempt and lacked the energy to continue with much enthusiasm an enterprise which had gotten off to such a bad start. Within this perspective, the title placed at the opening of what constitutes a new beginning, on the basis of an initial failure, takes on new meaning. One might even go so far as to consider it a fifth attempt, a blank check for future use, as if the author in recognition of his inability was renouncing what was so important to him, that is, the playing out of novelistic inspiration on the one hand, and on the other, the rewriting of the Breton material which had clearly not lost its charm for him; and, in a break with tradition, was inaugurating a new "matière" and a radically novel topic.

That is after all exactly what will occur in the *Perceforest* some thirty years later, and the only de facto, identifiable *source* of the *Perceforest*, if one leaves aside its own discourse of justification to which we will return presently, is this title—a title that has no relationship with what precedes or follows in what Baudoin Butor wrote. Even if the "bon roi de Thailleborch" has not been passed down to posterity, it may nonetheless be noted that Betis d'Angleterre is regularly called "bon roi Perceforest." And while it is true that "Perchefier" may be in the tradition of the Percevals or Perlesvaus who flourished for more than a century in Breton literature, one might also imagine that he constitutes the "missing link" between Chrétien de Troyes's "valet Gallois" and the king Perceforest, vassal and contemporary of Alexander the Great. As for Dorvant,[5] one might see in it a deformation of "Darnant," which according to the principle of retroaction pointed out by Vinaver and reused by Pickford in his study of MS BnF 112[6] is to be taken as the source of the forest of Darnantes or d'Arnentes encountered in recent (meaning late) Arthurian texts such as the *Prophesies de Merlin*. According to this same logic, he might also be taken to be the prototype of the fearsome enchanter of whom King Betis will rid the kingdom of England a half-century later at the beginning (if one might call it such) of the *Roman de Perceforest*.

The "draft" following Baudoin Butor's programmatic title, without ever making any of its elements a reality, would seem to bear the trace of its proximity to the prose continuations of the *Sept Sages de Rome* cycle in the margins of which the new author inserted his production: the narrative of the loves of the usurper Vortigern and the daughter of the Saxon leader Angis. The text contains a number of pseudo-classical romance topoi, but, more importantly, it poses the problem of the heroic status bestowed upon Vortigern. Indeed, whether it be in the Vulgate *Lancelot-Grail* or in Latin texts such as the *Historia regum Britanniae*, Vortigern's place is that of the traitor, and therefore he cannot be a main character.[7] Moreover, the logic of such a story is markedly different from the classical scenario of the beginnings of the Arthurian legend: clearly, it is a narrative dead-end, and Baudoin Butor stops writing once again, for perhaps opposite reasons to those which led him to interrupt his first, longest, and most elaborate account. Indeed, the telling of the loves of Pandragus and Libanor[8] (prefiguring sometimes word for word the story of Troïlus and Zellandine in *Perceforest*) and the deviant version of the "enfances Merlin" [childhood of Merlin] given in this sketch produce a particular kind of dizziness in the reader. This parallel narration, neither quite the same nor quite different, never frees itself from its classical prototype in order to stand on its own two feet.[9]

What is most striking in this group of texts is that each attempt begins again from an absolute point of origin from the romance point of view, and takes the same path as in the preceding prologue. We do not have one "roman des fils du roi Constant" [romance of king Constant's sons], but only dispersed and contradictory fragments. We do, however, have the prologue to this romance, a prologue that is remarkably coherent as its different versions demonstrate. While Baudoin Butor apparently has only the vaguest idea of what he wants to tell, he knows very well, on the contrary, what he wants the paratext to express. His name, that of his patron, the political and historical circumstances that motivated him to begin writing a work of edifying propaganda, all of this is repeated with surprising *constance* (to make a poor play on words). The four prologues begin with a formula, the solemnity and biblical tonality of which make its repetition all the more impressive: "Il est seüt, seit on et est a savoir" [It has been known, it is known and it is to be known].

That which is thus presented as being under the seal of absolute knowledge (this is appropriate in a text which is more or less about Merlin, who owes his knowledge of the past and present to his father, the devil, and his partial knowledge of the future to divine grace) varies, however, at least in its modes of exposition. The message's tenor is that Baudoin Butor is undertaking the composition of a text at the request or for the benefit of Gui de Flandres and Huon de Châtillon, as well as for the love of Jean d'Avesnes,

all three of whom are engaged in complex political negotiations of which Baudoin does not entirely approve. Like many of his predecessors, the writer begins his writing of a "biaus contes" [beautiful tale] at the request of his lords to whom he can refuse nothing, thus placing himself squarely in a literary tradition which, in a sense, justifies itself. Within this continuity, however, there are interesting variants or more precisely an evolution from one draft to another showing the growing discomfort of a candidate to authorship faced with unforeseen difficulties. It is partly for this reason that it is so important to rectify the order of the fragments as they appear in the manuscript. Indeed, between the first and third prologue, the first person of enunciation grows both grammatically (one need only count the occurrences) and in terms of its semantic variations.

The first passage introduces the authorial first person in the position of object: "m'est il pris a talent" [the desire took me], the declaration of intention is mediated here by an impersonal verb and entirely subject to the patrons' desire. While in the following lines there is a high density of "je" [I], it remains anonymous, unlike the lords, whose titles are all listed; in short, given the period (unspecified in this first version, we may point out in passing), and given the topic, a very average prologue in which the figure of the author is grammatically very present but semantically disembodied. The same cannot be said of the prologue following the "false" title of the work to come. Here, to begin with, the first person is plural and the "spokesperson" of two of the patrons, taking on the position of writer in order to *authorize* the subsequent activity of "Butor, notre clerch et boin ami" [Butor, our cleric and good friend], who thus avoids having to introduce himself by the untenable formula "je, soussigné" [I, the undersigned]. Once the obstacle has been bypassed in this fashion, nonetheless, the "je, soussigné" can appear, even superlatively, unless we take this repetition more as a sign of nervous stuttering than as a sign of assurance:

> Pour la quele honor je, Butors desus dis, je encore por tres noble seigneur . . . , me veil entremetre . . .[10]
>
> [For which honor, I the undersigned Butor, I once again for a very noble lord . . . , wish to begin . . .]

But the result of this set-up is that in the nineteen lines of this prologue, we have two first-person writers who do not overlap. One is plural and seems to come close to the majestic "nous" [we], the other is singular and seems to be putting great energy into disavowing the permission granted by the former in order to place himself under the patronage of yet a third party who is not even given any say in the matter. An unspoken political agenda weighs heavily on this version in which "Butor" uses the authority given to

him by his syntactic double to pledge allegiance to another patron, if one who precisely has not ordered the work can be given such a title: "si veil je ici endroit comencier en teil maniere ke ce puist iestre a la confusion de anemi . . ." [I wish to begin here in such a way as to bring confusion to the enemies . . .]; the beginning will alas soon miscarry, but indeed, the confusion, of the reader at least, is complete.

It gets even worse in the third prologue, which is an absolute *coup* on the part of the author, since, instead of representing himself at the edge of his narrative, at the risk or in the hope of becoming a character of his own fiction, as were his great ancestors Robert or Hélie de Boron, he brings in from the book what should have been the main character in order to receive from him an absolutely unimpeachable guarantee. It must first be noted that the direct object of the almost judicial opening formula is the person of the author himself, presented in great detail (we are given one of the most precise dates in literary history!) in the context of an activity which is at the same time common (falling asleep in the midst of unpleasant thoughts) and promising. Sleep indeed, leads to dreaming, an honorable fictional framework, which ever since the early thirteenth century *authorizes* the writer to attribute to himself first-hand knowledge later invested in his text. The qualitative leap, in comparison to this corpus which he might claim as a precedent, has to do with the choice of the "personality" appearing in this dream. At the margin of a romance playing on merlinesque intertext, the figure of a seven-year-old child can only be assimilated with Merlin himself; consequently, Butor places himself in exactly the same situation as Blaise toward the "sage enfes" [wise child] at the beginning of the *Merlin* by Robert de Boron. All of the different details in the account of this improbable scene come from the "matière de Merlin," from the "col de mallart" [mallard-green] color of his clothing (a reference to the *Suite-Vulgate*[11]), to his wavering between wisdom and youth (specifically taken from the *Huth-Merlin*[12]); the mention of the "rollet" [scroll] the child holds is a bit peculiar, since it points rather to the prose *Estoire de Joseph*,[13] in which case the model is to be identified with Christ and not Merlin—but are they very different?

Thus, instead of becoming one of the creations inside his fiction, Baudoin Butor initiates a reverse procedure in which he attempts to *embody* fictional characters, if not quite in the *real*, day-time world, at least in that signifying space that are dreams or "dorveille" [between sleeping and wakefulness]. Nonetheless, as might have been expected, this attempt fails: how might the course of one's narrative, or indeed any narrative, be taken up smoothly again when the foundational scene that makes any other story look unbearably banal has just been revealed to one's dumbfounded public? The third prologue is thus the only one in which what should be the narration proper does not begin with the second introductory formula so

dear to Baudoin Butor, "Com il soit ensi que . . ." [And thus let it be that . . .]. That is because the reader has already been in a fictional space for around fifty lines, and any interest one might have in "histoires de Bretons" [stories of Bretons] pales in comparison to the autobiographical experience of the writer designated as author by his own subject. In this fashion, Butor has exhausted for all intents and purposes the various combinations which would have made possible the writing of an original tale; the only thing left for him is to reduce the paratext as much as he can in the hope of avoiding a loss of meaning of the fictional in comparison to the *real*. The very drastic action he takes, only five lines of prologue for the last draft, reveals itself to be insufficient since the narrative is interrupted after 275 lines; the atypical experiment of this radically *marginal* (in every sense of the term) writer ends up being a resounding failure.

Resounding precisely in that, the great fourteenth-century "pre-Arthurian" Breton romance, the *Perceforest*,[14] comes to the correct conclusions about the *aporia* in which the *Roman des fils du roi Constant* encloses itself and proposes an alternative which at the very least works—since there can be no doubt that the *Perceforest* exists—but only takes on its full meaning in comparison with the missing pre-text which is its matrix. Unlike Baudoin Butor, the author of the *Perceforest*, whoever he may be (Baudoin himself, older and having learned by experience,[15] or a disciple conscious of the dead ends in which his master had lost his way, and wishing to steer clear of them?), does not try to establish his bona fides in a prologue asserting once and for all his identity and bestowing on him the authority necessary to assume responsibility for the narrative to follow. The medieval variant of what would become for nineteenth-century authors writers' block manifests itself in the author's resorting to an excursus having nothing to do with his subject and which puts off almost indefinitely the beginning of the "roman de Perceforest" as such. Instead of telling us straightaway the—indeed radically—new/untold adventures of Alexander the Great in Great Britain, the text instead seems to *reculer pour mieux sauter*, to go backward in order to go forward, launching into a geographical presentation of the country taken word for word from Orosius, then Dares Phrygius. It then goes on to a summary copied from the *Historia regum Britanniae*, carefully avoiding the sensitive question of the *concordance*, or agreement, of dates. If one adds to that a few secondary or second-degree digressions so to speak, the author is able to put off the moment of truth for over two-thousand lines.

He then resorts to another strategy, which makes up the unlikely "chapitre xiii" [chapter 13] of a romance which has still not yet begun: rather than presenting in a synthetic way the impossible trinity of author, patron, and addressee of the work as does Baudoin Butor, the *Perceforest*

focuses instead on what might be called the outside circumstances of its own transmission. This question is not a new one; the *Lancelot* as well as other great thirteenth-century compilations had already addressed this problem and made regular use of a very convenient device, that of scribes appointed by the characters of the fiction themselves to put their adventures into writing. These ambiguous creations serve as an interface between the *real*, in which the operation of writing takes place, and the diegesis, within which the events these fictional chroniclers are supposed to keep in memory occur. Still, in the case of the *Perceforest* the problem will be posed again several times within the very midst of the narrative, each time in its proper place (*en situation*), when for each generation it becomes necessary to specify how it had been possible, in a context at the very least unfavorable, not only to preserve the memory of the great deeds of preceding generations as a model for their successors, the new heroes, but also to give it some sort of form and engrave it, so to speak, in stone in order to defy both time and the destructive will of intervening "anti-heroes" bent on erasing any trace of a glorious past.

Thus the *Perceforest*, even before having recourse to any Ponchonnet[16] situated in the narrative itself, launches into the romance of its own discovery—a book in a wardrobe in a wall in an abbey—and its very difficult *translation* in the linguistic sense of the word, since it is necessary to justify at least two stages in this process. The relationship of the romance with the "matière alexandrine" [Alexandrian matter] clearly warrants an initial Greek composition. However, it is at the next stage that things become particularly confusing; indeed the incident of a Greek exile passing through the abbey in which the precious manuscript has been discovered and translating it into Latin is nothing but logical. However, as we might expect, it is not the classical languages that pose a problem, but the different vernaculars, of which the hierarchy is ill-defined, playing a strange game of musical chairs in which nothing justifies giving priority to one over the other:

> Quant je eubz apperceu le livre et la couronne, je les fiz porter en ma chambre et ouvry le livre, mais je ne peuz sçavoir en quel langaige il est escript . . . Et tant fiz depuis a cellui clerc qu'il a translaté le livre de gregois en latin, car riens ne sçavoit de breton . . . Briefvement tant pria le gentil conte a l'abbé qu'il eut copie ainçois qu'il se departist de l'ylle, et l'apporta en Haynnau sa conté. Depuis prist le conte moult a viser qui luy pourroit translater de latin en françois. En la fin il s'avisa qu'il y avoit a Crespin en l'abbaye de Saint Landelain ung moine de son amistié auquel il requist et pria que de cest oevre se voulsist entremettre . . .[17]
>
> [When I had seen the book and the crown, I had them brought to my room and I opened the book, but I was unable to know in what language it was written . . . And after that, I did so much to that cleric that he translated the

> book from Greek to Latin, because he didn't know any Breton . . . Shortly after, the gentle count asked the abbott so persistently that he took a copy when he left the island and brought it to Hainaut, his county. After that the count began to think much about who might translate it from Latin into French. Finally, he realized that there was in Crespin in the abbey of Saint Landelin a monk with whom he was friendly and he asked and requested that he take on this enterprise . . .]

Even though it has been established once and for all, in exquisitely anachronistic fashion, that the text was translated into the language of the new queen of England Philippa de Hainaut,[18] whose symbolic presence comes as a crowning explanation for the extraordinary importance granted to Hainaut—under the guise of Selve Carbonnière—in the course of the romance, the said romance is still unable to begin. Instead of making a new attempt by beginning again from scratch as in the case of Baudoin Butor, the author of the *Perceforest* searches elsewhere, and when we think he is finally going to begin his narrative,[19] we quickly notice that we are still only dealing with a rewriting of the *Vœux du Paon* by Jacques de Longuyon.[20]

In the end, however, the writer must renounce these more or less suitable props and begin work on his original project, which by definition has no guarantor or guarantee in all of literary history, since the logically inexplicable silence of the chronicles concerning "the bon roi Perceforest" can in fact be explained by the envy and jealousy of those sovereigns, the successors to the king of England, who were able to completely mask this nonetheless glorious episode in the history of the country. Unfortunately, the argument is double-edged. On the one hand, it is irresistible: the *Perceforest*'s radical *originality* (not a compliment in the Middle Ages) cannot be blamed since the silence of the other sources is the result of a very deliberate will to mask a particularly admirable episode of History with a capital H—or at least of historical chronicling. Reciprocally, however, and despite a wealth of "markers" of authenticity at the level of the "invention" of the original document, the *Perceforest* remains cruelly deprived of any real documentary status. As a floating text justifying itself within a kind of closed circuit, it consequently never rises to the ontological status of an authentic chronicle confirmed by a whole network of proof and corroborating arguments. Having renounced tackling the problem of "authorization" from the point of view of the writer, the *Perceforest* is equally unable to arrive at its ends through intratextual legitimation based on external "authorities." The romance is written, but it is not justified. When the narrative really gets under way, it does so discreetly, without attracting any attention, since all previous attempts at legitimizing the work came to a sudden (or, rather, prolonged) end. It is in Alexander's dream, when a new character who will much later be identified as the malicious "spirit" Zéphyr

comes to him, that the romance leaves the purely Alexandrian territory and shifts toward Great Britain.

In order to overcome this difficulty, Baudoin Butor tries desperately to construct the persona of a writer who would be able to establish a framework for enunciation, at least, if not the enunciation itself, in the midst of a concrete historical and political reality *verifiable* at any moment by any person. In the *Perceforest*, the course of action is apparently the opposite: there is no trace of an official writer, but there exits instead a patchwork of earlier works and authors compensating for the lack of authority of the text. Nonetheless, in the end both texts work according to the same principle of diverting preexisting materials: they are epigone texts, very subtly interfering with their intertexts without ever crossing the Rubicon of true originality, and concealing from their readers the problems inherent to the activity of writing by putting on an act of *mise-en-abîme* of their modes of production.

Notes

1. See Baudouin Butor, *Le Roman des fils du roi Constant*, ed. Lewis Thorpe, in *Notthingham Medieval Studies*, 12 (1968): 3–20, 13 (1969): 49–64, 14 (1970): 41–63. Since its edition by L. Thorpe and its partial reworking by L.-F. Flûtre in his article "Le roman de Pandragus et Libanor par Baudouin Butor," *Romania* 94 (1973): 57–90, the *Roman des fils du roi Constant* has not attracted very much attention; it is mentioned, though erroneously, by Gerard Sonnemans, "Het lineaire schrijfproces bij middeleeuwse teksten," *Nederlandse Letterkunde*, 5 (2001): 323–332. I myself gave a talk about it in 2001 at the International Medieval Congress of Kalamazoo: "A Marginal Text: the Four Drafts of the *Roman des fils du roi Constant* by Baudouin Butor" (May 3–6, 2001). I hope to produce a new edition of this text sometime in the not-too-distant future.
2. Roussineau's edition, a work in progress, already includes several volumes which present the text of the second, third, and fourth parts. To read the *Perceforest*, one has to use the following editions: *Perceforest*, première partie., ed. Jane Taylor (Geneva: Droz, 1979); *Perceforest*, deuxième partie, ed. Gilles Roussineau, 2 vols. (Geneva: Droz, 1999–2001); *Perceforest*, troisième partie (3 vols) et quatrième partie (2 vols), ed. Gilles Roussineau (Geneva: Droz, 1987–1993). For the rest of the text, which is not yet available, one can refer to the eight *Etudes sur le Roman de Perceforest* published by L.-G. Flûtre in *Romania* 70 (1949): 474–522; 71 (1950): 374–392 and 482–508; 74 (1953): 44–102; 88 (1967): 475–508; 89 (1968): 355–386; 90 (1969): 341–370; 91 (1970): 189–226.
3. The case of Guernes de Pont-Saint-Maxence is particularly interesting since he writes his *Vie de Saint Thomas Becket* barely two or three years after the saint's assassination and still prior to his canonization, which Guernes' text may have contributed to bring about. However, he too claims to give a better

version than his rivals, who—he complains bitterly—give the profession a bad name. See: Guernes de Pont-Sainte-Maxence, *Vie de Saint Thomas Beckett*, ed. E. Walberg (Champion: Paris, 1936) p. 190 (vv. 6171–6175).

4. Thorpe, *Notthingham Medieval Studies* 13 (1969): 51, ll. 1–2.
5. "Dalfinor" immediately returns to the nothingness which he never should have left; unless one is to go quite a bit further in picking out likenesses, seeing in this curious name the origin of the "Chevalier au Dauphin" who plays an important part in the *Perceforest*.
6. This principle is called "prolongement rétroactif." See Cedric Pickford, *L'évolution du roman arthurien en prose vers la fin du Moyen Age d'après le manuscrit 112 fr. de la BN* (Paris: Nizet, 1960), p. 62.
7. On a smaller scale, this problem is also posed in the Middle-English romance, *Of Arthour and of Merlyn:* the episode of the young girl disguised as a man who weds the emperor is moved to a different place (or perhaps its correct place, according to the principle of a three-part structure requiring three "*exempla*" of Merlin's gifts) and linked to the figure of the usurper. This obliges the writer to "kill" in just a few lines a heroine above all suspicion whose virtue was to be awarded by the royal wedding which in fact leads to her death in the context of the present work. *Of Arthour and of Merlin*, ed. O.D. Macrae-Gibson, Early English Text Society 268, 2 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1973–1974).
8. See the edition made of this draft by L.-F. Flûtre, "Le roman de Pandragus et Libanor par Baudouin Butor," *Romania* 94 (1973): 57–90. It is interesting to note that L.-F. Flûtre, one of the first scholars to examine the *Roman de Perceforest*, also wrote an article about the text by Baudoin Butor, which otherwise was ignored by the critics.
9. Nonetheless, the virtuoso practice of rewriting with variations demonstrated in the first "draft" (in particular, in those passages concerning Merlin's mother and two sisters) will be exploited to the full in the *Perceforest*. Instead of being divided between the anxiety of betrayal and the anxiety of faithfulness, *Perceforest* turns this practice into a systematic way of proceeding. This can be seen in exemplary fashion in *Perceforest*'s treatment of the figure of Merlin in the two complementary figures of Zéphyr and Passelion.
10. Thorpe, *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 13 (1969): 51, ll. 7–10.
11. See in *Les Premiers faits du roi Arthur* (another title of the so called *Suite historique du Merlin*) the episode in which Merlin, under the guise of a vilain comes to give the ducks he has hunted to the young king Arthur. This text is edited following the Bonn manuscript, translated and annotated in *Le Livre du Graal*, ed. Philippe Walter, Daniel Poirion, and Anne Berthelot, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade 476 (Paris: Gallimard, 2001) 1:855–856, par. 44.
12. This text, also called *Suite romanesque du Merlin*, has recently been edited by Gilles Roussineau: *La Suite du Roman de Merlin* 2 vols. (Geneva: Droz, 1996). Merlin, not long after King Arthur's coronation, comes to him in the guise of a child. When he declares that he knew King Uther Pendragon well, however, Arthur sends him away and accuses him of lying, given his age;

Merlin then returns as a much more credible, wise old man whose speech can only be convincing to the young king (par. 13).

13. In the lengthy romantic prologue of *Le Livre du Graal* (see above n. 11), the narrator tells how Jesus Christ helped him obtain a "livret" containing the story he was about to put into writing, then took it away from him and finally gave it back after an "aventureuse" quest (*Livre du Graal*, 1:4–22, par. 2–15).
14. The bibliographic situation, so scant in the case of the *Roman des fils du roi Constant*, is much better when it comes to the *Roman de Perceforest*. Besides Jeanne Lods, *Le Roman de Perceforest: origines, composition, caractères, valeur et influence* (Geneva: Droz, 1951), one can list among the most recent works: Christine Ferlampin-Acher, "Perceforest et ses déceptions baroques," in *Deceptio: Mystifications, tromperies, illusions de l'Antiquité au XVIIe siècle* (Montpellier: Publications de l'Université Paul-Valéry, 2000), pp. 441–465; Anne Berthelot, "Le mythe de la transmission historique dans le Roman de Perceforest," in *Représentations de l'Histoire médiévale. Colloque d'Amiens Mars 20–24, 1985*, ed. Danielle Buschinger, Wodan 16 (Greifswald: Reineke Verlag, 1992), pp. 38–49; Anne Berthelot, "La sagesse antique au service des Prestiges Féeriques dans le *Roman de Perceforest*," in "*Ce est li fruis selon la letre*." *Mélanges en l'honneur de Charles Méla*, ed. Olivier Collet, Yasmina Foehr-Janssens, and Sylviane Messerli (Geneva: Champion, 2002), pp. 83–193; Denyse Delcourt, "The Laboratory of Fiction: Magic and Image in the Roman de Perceforest," *Medievalia et Humanistica: Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Culture* 21 (1994): 17–31; Michelle Szkilnik, "Le clerc et le ménestrel: Prose historique et discours versifié dans le *Perceforest*," *Cahiers de Recherches médiévales (XIIIe-Xve s.)* 5 (1998): 87–105; Michelle Szkilnik, "Les morts et l'histoire dans le *Roman de Perceforest*," *Le Moyen Age* 105: 1 (1999): 9–30.
15. The consensus, if there can be said to be one about this text for which there is so little criticism, is that Butor began his draft of the *Fils du roi Constant* fairly late in life and that he died shortly thereafter without ever having attempted the experiment again. Nonetheless, a detailed study of these opening narratives and some of the episodes of the *Perceforest* will demonstrate, I think, similarities and parallelisms that are so pronounced that they lead one to reconsider more favorably the hypothesis of a common author, or at least of a conscious transmission of the narrative material from master to disciple.
16. Ponchonnet, the "roy des menestrels," plays a very important part in the transmission of the memory of the text. Not only does he compose and sing before a select audience "lais" commemorating the feats and adventures of the heroes of the first "renaissance" described in this romance, after the destruction brought about by the Romans; he also is the one who tells the new generation about the great deeds of their parents, thus allowing for the ideal of the King Perceforest to rise from its ashes.
17. *Le Roman de Perceforest*, première partie, ed. J. Taylor (Droz: Geneva, 1979), pp. 122, 123 and 124.

18. This is an anachronism since the occasion on which the count of Hainaut visits Great-Britain is that of the wedding of Isabella of France and Edward II in 1308; it is in 1328 that the daughter of the count of Hainaut becomes queen of England by marrying Edward III.
19. He uses a somewhat disenchanted formula at this juncture: "Et pour ce qu'il n'est chose qui puist avoir fin sans commencement, nous commencerons cest œuvre a l'onneur de Dieu et de la benoite Vierge Marie, qui commence ainsy selon la cronique." [And since there is nothing that may end that does not have a beginning, we will begin this work in honor of God and the blessed Virgin Mary, which begins that way according to the chronicle.] (*Le Roman de Perceforest*, première partie, p. 124, ll. 2151–2155).
20. See Jacques de Longuyon, "Les Vœux du Paon," in *The Buik of Alexander*, ed. R.L.G. Ritchie, Scottish Text Society 12, 17, 21, 25, 4 vols. (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood, 1921–1929), vols 2 and 3. It is among the "seconds rôles" of this text, a romance reworking of the Alexandrian material which sometimes introduces new characters whose historicity is not exactly demonstrated, that the *Perceforest* chooses its own protagonists.

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CHAPTER 6

THE EXPERIENCING SELF AND THE NARRATING SELF IN MEDIEVAL FRENCH CHRONICLES

Sophie Marnette

Introduction

Contrary to many other vernacular texts from the same period, medieval French chronicles usually state their author's name, thereby seemingly avoiding any conflict between our modern notion of "author" as the unique origin that created the text and the ambiguous notion of "author" constructed by other medieval texts without attribution or with multiple author names (e.g., Chrétien's *Perceval* and its four continuations). In the following study, the term "author" is to be understood as what the text posits as the creative entity at the origin of the narrative, while the term "narrator" is the entity that tells the story.[1]

Medieval chronicles were often rearranged and modified, either by the chroniclers or by the copyists. While the narrator is directly represented in the text, the author's *persona* can only be reconstructed inductively, for example, from his style or from his choice of story line, sometimes without any possible distinction between different versions or scribal additions. The differentiation between narrator and author is very clear in the earliest vernacular chronicles of the *Prise de Constantinople* (Clari and Villehardouin, early thirteenth century), where the author is referred to with the third person (*he*) while the narrative voice is in the first person singular (*I*) and more often in the first person plural (emphatic *we*). It is only later, in Joinville's *Vie de Saint Louis* (early fourteenth century), that the author's name coincides with the *I*-narrator.

However, the *I*-narrator is not only telling the story as a narrator but also as a specific individual who sometimes offers his opinion about the narrative and links it to the external world where he is living. While these opinions can be fairly impersonal, they can also be introduced by strong linguistic markers such as *I say that, I think that*, etc. In that sense, even the most deliberately objective chronicles also constitute judgements about history.

With Joinville, the *I* staged in the text becomes both the one who recounts the story (*narrating self*) and the one who lived history as witness or even as participant (*experiencing self*). The two latter functions occur in the third person in Clari and Villehardouin's chronicles. Not all chroniclers attended the events narrated, and even in Joinville's text, some anecdotes are based on what he heard or read. At some point, however, all chroniclers insist that they witnessed a portion of the events or that they interviewed trustworthy eyewitnesses. As I will show, it is that strong link between the *I*-narrator, *I*-author and *I*-witness or participant that vouches for the historicity of these narratives, thus creating what I call the rhetoric of truth in the chronicles.[2] It is important to note that I am not discussing whether the events presented in the chronicles are historically true in the modern sense of the term. What is of interest here is that they are presented as true by the narrative. In fact, we cannot even be sure that the chronicles were experienced as true by the medieval audience since, as Beer shows, references to eye-witness or insistence on sincerity are rhetorical topoi borrowed from ancient Latin texts.[3]

This chapter studies nine chronicle excerpts ranging from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries and examines the various roles played by the chameleon *I* which can be narrator, author, witness or even a character in the story. My corpus includes two accounts of the sack of Constantinople, one composed by Clari prior to 1212 and one by Villehardouin composed after 1216; the story of Saint Louis's life by Joinville (1309); three excerpts taken from three different books of Froissart's chronicles (excerpt 1 from volume 1 ca. 1380, excerpt 2 from volume 3 ca. 1400, and excerpt 3 from volume 4 ca. 1400); one excerpt of Monstrelet's chronicle (book 2, ca. 1450); one excerpt taken from *Les Chroniques du roi Charles VII* by Gilles Le Bouvier dit Le Héraut Berry (ca. 1455) and one excerpt of Commynes's *Mémoires* (volume 1, ca. 1490).[4]

Thirteenth-Century Chronicles

In order to understand the evolution of the chronicle as a literary genre, one needs to go back to the birth of prose romances and vernacular chronicles in the thirteenth century when prose was equated with truth.[5] Indeed, as Gabrielle Spiegel notes, vernacular prose existed alongside Latin historical

and religious prose texts: bible translations, sermons, saint's lives, historiography, etc.[6] In previous works, I analyzed linguistic and narratological features of early prose chronicles looking at the narrator's position and the perspectives through which the story events are filtered (focalization).[7]

Clari and Villehardouin's chronicles of Constantinople, which are the oldest chronicles in French, refer to the narrator with an exclusive and authoritative *we* [1] instead of the singular subjective *I* and they use third person singular markers in order to designate an individual as author, witness and character of the story [2,3].[8]

> [1] Or vos *lairons* de cels et *dirons* des pelerins, dont grant partie ert ja venu en Venise. (Villehardouin, par. 51, l. 1–2)[9]
>
> [Now *we will leave* them and *we will speak* about the pilgrims, many of whom had already reached Venice.]
>
> [2] Et bien testimoigne **Joffrois li mareschaus de Champaigne** qui ceste oevre dita, que ainc n'i menti de mot a son escient, si com cil qui a toz les conseils fu, . . . (Villehardouin, par. 120, lines 1–3).
>
> [And **Joffrois marshal of Champagne** who dictated this book, testifies that he never lied deliberately, as somebody who was present at all the meetings . . .]
>
> [3] . . . chis qui i fu et qui le vit et qui l'oï le tesmongne, **Robers de Clari, li chevaliers**, et a fait metre en escrit le verité, si comme ele fu conquise; et ja soit chou que il ne l'ait si belement contee le conqueste, comme maint boin diteeur l'eussent contee, si en a il toutes eures le droite verité contee, et assés de vérités en a teutes qu'il ne peut mie toutes ramembrer. (Clari, par. 120, lines 4–10).[10]
>
> [**Robert de Clari, the knight**, who was there and saw it and heard it, bears witness to it and he has put in writing the truth of how [Constantinople] was conquered; and although he has not narrated the conquest as well as many good poets might have, he has always told the straight truth, and he has said nothing about a few truths because he cannot remember all of them.]

The absence of *I*-narrator, which is also characteristic of early prose romances such as those of the Lancelot-Grail cycle, illustrates how vernacular prose came to be used as a discursive modality expressing an impersonal, single, immanent truth. This, however, does not prevent the chroniclers from inserting subjective comments carrying precise political messages to the listeners-readers.[11] For instance, when some of the crusaders decide not to go to Venice, Villehardouin comments:

> [4] Ha ! Cum grant domages fu quant li autre qui alerent as autres porz ne vindrent illuec! Bien fust la crestïenté halcie et la terre des Turs abassie. (Villehardouin, par. 57, lines 1–3)

> [Ha! What a pity it was that the others having gone to other harbors did not come there! Christianity would have been enhanced and the land of the Turkish diminished.]

And when the emperor and Louis count of Flander die and the army flees, Clari concludes:

> [5] Ensi faitement se venja Damedieus d'aus pour leur orguel et pour le male foi qu'il avoient portee a le povre gent de l'ost, et les oribles pekiés qu'il avoient fais en le chité, aprés chou qu'i l'eurent prise. (Clari, par. 112, lines 31–35)
>
> [So did God take his revenge on them because of their arrogance and for the bad faith they had shown to the poor people of the army, and the awful sins they had perpetrated in the city, after they had overtaken it.]

Clari and Villehardouin's chronicles thus initiate a narrative voice that appears to be neutral and indivisible, based on an authoritative source (eyewitness) and equating the notion of prose with that of authority, reality, and truth.

Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Chronicles

Fourteenth- and fifteenth-century chronicles stage a *I*-narrator who is the author dictating or writing the story, a moralist speaking in the present, the direct or indirect witness of story events and a character who sometimes participated in the past actions. These chronicles retain all the main features typical of the genre: political message, events seen from the outside, use of the past as the unmarked tense of the narrative, and clear separation between the time of narration and the time of the story events. They are, however, written at a time when prose is no longer seen as an expression of truth, nor as excluding the first person *I*.

In Joinville's, Froissart's, and Commynes's chronicles, the frequency of first-person singular pronouns and verb endings referring to the *I*-narrator-author-moralist is always higher than or equal to 2 percent of the narrative space,[12] a number that would increase if one were to include references to the chronicler as a character who either participated in or witnessed past events. In these texts, the frequency of first-person singular markers is always higher than that of second-person markers so that the *I*-narrator, witness and character is given more importance than the listeners-readers.[13] Even in Monstrelet and the Héraut de Berry chronicles, in which the frequency of first-person singular markers outside the prologues is very low, the *I* does not only appear as narrator but also as author (by name) and

witness (see *infra*).[14] This highlights the trifold position of *I*: he attends and/or takes part in the story events, he commits them to paper thereby objectifying them, and he judges the events and links them to his own time through moral commentary.

I as Narrator qua Narrator

The purely narrative function (i.e., referring only to the storytelling, not to the function of author, nor to the individual opinions) can be expressed with a first-person singular marker [6,7,9] or plural [8] and can also appear into addresses to the listeners-readers [9].

> [6] Lequel depuis fu parfait et confermé, comme cy-après sera déclairié en *mon* tiers livre. (Monstrelet, lines 2518–2519)[15]
>
> [Which since then was perfected and confirmed, as will be told in *my* third book.]
>
> [7] *Pour revenir à mon propoz* de ceste armée d'Estampes, comme tous eussent soupé et qu'il y avoit largement gensse pourmenans par les rues, monsr Charles de France et monsr de Charroloys estoient à une fenestre et parloient eulx deux de très grand affection. (Commynes, book I, chapter V)[16]
>
> [*Going back to my subject-matter* about this army of Estampes, when everybody finished supper and there were a lot of people walking in the streets, Lord Charles of France and Lord Charolais were at a window talking to each other with great affection.]
>
> [8] Or *revenons a nostre* matiere et *disons ainsi que* aprés ces choses tint le roy une grant court a Saumur . . . (Joinville, par. 93, lines 1–2)[17]
>
> [Now *let us come* back to *our* subject matter and *let us say that* after these things the king held a high court in Saumur . . .].
>
> [9] . . . si comme *je vous déclarerai* assez prochainement, car la matière le demande. (Froissart, excerpt 3, p. 632, ll. 31–2)[18]
>
> [. . . as *I will tell you* very soon since the subject-matter requires it.]

The purely narrative function represents the majority of the total number of first person singular occurrences in the Constantinople chronicles (Villehardouin 67 percent, Clari 84 percent), and in Froissart's excerpt 1 (72 percent). It accounts for a quarter or a third of all occurrences in Froissart's excerpt 3, Monstrelet, Commynes, and Berry. Only Froissart's excerpt 2 (*Le voyage de Béarn*) and Joinville's text devote less than 10 percent of first-person singular occurrences to the purely narrative function because these texts mostly refer to the chronicler as witness or participant in the story events (*experiencing self*).

I as Narrator-Author

As discussed above, what distinguishes fourteenth- and fifteenth-century chronicles from those of Clari and Villehardouin is the coincidence between the *I* representing the narrator and the reference to the name and the function of author.

> [10] En nom de Dieu le tout puissant, **je, Jehan sire de Joyngville**, seneschal de Champaigne, *faiz escrire* la vie nostre saint [roy] Looÿs, ce que *je vis et oÿ* par l'espace de sis anz que *je fu* en sa compaignie ou pelerinage d'outremer, et puis que nous revenimes. (Joinville, par. 19, lines 1–5)
>
> [In the name of almighty God, **I, Jehan lord of Joinville**, marshal of Champagne, *am having* the life of our saint king Louis written down, what *I saw and heard* during the six years *I spent* in his company in the pilgrimage across the sea and after we came back.]
>
> [11] *Je faiz savoir a touz*, que *j'ai ceans mis* grant partie des faiz nostre saint roy devant dit, que *je ai veu et oÿ* et grant partie de ses faiz que *j'ai trouvez* qui sont en un romant lesquiex *j'ai fet escrire* en cest livre. Et ces choses vous *ramentoif-je*, pource que cil qui orront ce livre croient fermement ce que le livre dit, que *j'ai vraiement veu et oÿ*. Et les autres choses qui y sont escriptes, ne vous *tesmoigne* que soient vrayes, parce que *je ne les ay veues ne oÿes*. (Joinville, par. 768, lines 1–6, end of book)
>
> [*I let everybody know* that *I have put here* a great part of the actions of our saint king Louis, that *I saw and heard* and a great part of his actions that *I found* were in a book in French, which *I had written* in this book. And *I remind* you of these things so that those who will hear this book believe firmly what the book says, that *I truly saw and heard*. And the other things that are written in it, *I do not vouch* for their truth since *I have not seen them nor heard them*.]

The same coincidence appears in the excerpts from Froissart, Monstrelet, Berry, and Commynes (see quotes [12, 13, 14, 15] in appendix).[19]

It is because he directly witnessed certain events, heard witness accounts, or borrows from specific written works (a "roman," that is a book in French in the case of Joinville [11], the chronicle of Jean le Bel in the case of Froissart's excerpt 1 [12]) that the *I*- narrator-author can vouch for the truth of his narrative.[20] This fact is reinforced by the use of legal formula such as "*I* + name" as Marchello-Nizia notes (see bold highlighting in [10, 12, 13, 14]).[21] Importantly, such performative formulas in the chronicles are always followed by a first-person expression insisting on the author's role as witness.[22] Although Monstrelet's chronicle contains relatively few first and second person singular markers (0.7 percent and 0.3 percent

respectively), the text begins with the legal formula *je Enguerran de Monstrelet* [13]. Furthermore, while three quarters of the first-person singular markers in the excerpt refer to the *I*-narrator, one quarter of these occurrences designates the *I* as witness, contrary to Clari and Villehardouin's older chronicles that use the third person for the witness function (see [2,3] above). Similarly, while the majority of first person singular markers appearing in the Héraut de Berry's chronicle are confined to the prologue, they are clearly linked to a performative formula, that is to the authorial and the witness functions (64 percent and 12 percent, respectively) [14].

Not only is the *I*-author associated with a specific name, it also appears in moral commentaries as an individual who has certain opinions about story events, fulfills a particular objective in telling certain events, dedicates his work to a specific patron ([15]), or describes the writing process. Indeed, in his prologue, the chronicler may explain why he decided to compose his work by mentioning a particular inclination or aptitude, his merits as traveler (Froissart, Monstrelet, Berry) or his privileged position alongside a specific historical character (Louis IX for Joinville, the Queen of England for Froissart, Louis XI for Commynes). In addition to maintaining textual cohesion by unifying the text as *what I will tell you* or *what I told you*, the *I*-narrator-author is engaged in the global coherence of his work, a concern that did not exist explicitly in Villehardouin and Clari's texts.

The I as Moralist

As could be seen in examples [4,5] taken from the Constantinople chronicles, even the most seemingly objective texts may express the chronicler's opinion. Fourteenth- and fifteenth-century chronicles tend to be more explicit because, rather than using exclamative expressions only, they use reflexive formulas that put the author's opinions on stage via the narrator's voice.

> [16] Le comte Gaston de Foix, dont *je parle*, en ce temps que *je fus* devers lui, avoit environ cinquante-neuf ans d'âge. Et *vous dis que j'ai* en *mon* temps *vu* moult de chevaliers, rois, princes et autres; mais *je n'en vis* oncques nul qui fût de si beaux membres, de si belle forme ni de si belle taille et viaire, bel, sanguin et riant, . . . (Froissart, excerpt 2, p. 534, l. 7)
>
> [The count Gaston of Foix, of whom *I speak*, was around fifty-nine years old when *I met* him. And *I tell you that* in *my* time *I have seen* many knights, kings, princes and others, but *I never saw* one who had such beautiful limbs, such fine shape, such a good looking figure and face, handsome, full of life and joyful, . . .]

[17] Ledict de Contay hayait ledict Guillaume Bische; toutesfois il disoit ce que plusieurs autres disoyent comme luy; et *croy que* sa suspicion ne l'en faisoit parler, mais seulement la necessité de la matière. (Commynes, ll. 1831–1842)

[The aforementioned de Contay hated the aforementioned Guillaume Bische; however, he was saying what many others said, and *I believe that* his mistrust did not cause him to speak, but rather the urgency of the matter.]

In an utterance such as *I am telling you that X*, the pronoun *I* refers both to the narrator *qua* narrator (who tells the story) and to the narrator as a person of the world who holds a specific discourse and expresses certain opinions [16].[23] This speech act in the present tense enables *I* to elaborate his own discourse with respect to that of the Other. One also finds expressions such as *I believe that* or *I think that* [17]. Both types of expressions contain verbs in the present tense and in the first person singular, which could be seen as reflexive reported speeches and which entail a certain amount of dramatization of the narrator's speech and thoughts.[24]

Expressions such as *I say that* are used in the following amounts: Joinville 0.2 percent, Froissart (excerpt 2) 0.5 percent, Froissart (excerpt 3) 0.2 percent, Commynes 0.4 percent. Expressions such as *I believe that* or *I think that* appear with the following frequency: Clari 0.1 percent, Joinville 0.1 percent, Froissart (excerpt 1) 0.02 percent, Monstrelet 0.1 percent, Commynes 1.4 percent. Although these frequencies seem rather low, they are in fact substantially higher than in the fictional narratives studied in a wider corpus.[25] Notice the relative importance of these reflexive expressions in Commynes's text (1.4 percent), which indeed is not surprizing in the work of a memoirist.

The I as Witness and Story Participant

The *I*-narrator may from time to time acknowledge his ignorance with regard to certain facts because he did not witness an event or because he does not recall everything [18, 19]. This apparent sincerity reinforces the position of the *I*-narrator as guarantor of the truth of the narrative since he cannot humanly remember every single detail and can only vouch for what he has seen or heard from trustworthy witnesses. Nevertheless, the narrative is always the result of a subjective choice made by the narrator-author, who may or may not justify his choices of information [19].

[18] *Je ne sçay* de ces choses que ce qu'il m'en a compté, car *je n'estoie point* sur les lieux. (Commynes, book I, chapter 15)

[About these things *I only know* what he told me since *I was* not there.]

[19] . . . et pluissieurs hauls barons et bacelers, desquelz *je ne puis mie ossi de tous parler* car trop *porois ma* principaul matere ensonniier. (Froissart, excerpt 1, par. 1, ll. 47–9)

[. . . and many high barons and young men, which *I cannot all mention* because *I would stray* from *my* main subject-matter.]

The impossibility of reporting the exact words heard at the time of the event may explain why the chronicler does not pretend that he faithfully quotes the characters' speeches with direct speech but prefers to include them within his narration through indirect speech, using his own words and therefore retaining control.[26] Froissart is indeed well aware of the problem since in the *Voyage de Béarn* (excerpt 2) he minutely describes the way he takes note of the stories told by his informants (see [23] *infra*). One can certainly add the fact that some chroniclers quote speeches that were reported by intermediary witnesses, which makes it impossible to go back to the supposedly original utterances. Moreover, the original words might have been uttered in a language (or dialect) other than French, a problem that easily disappears in indirect speech.[27] In the same vein, the characters' thoughts are rarely represented in chronicles, as this would require a certain amount of invention on the author's part. Finally, one also notes that the frequent use of direct speech by Monstrelet is not an exception since he mostly quotes written words, such as official letters and other legal documents he was able to copy without having to make any memory effort. In short, what makes these words true is not that they are reported *tels quels* [as they were said] (which is impossible) but that they are reported by the *I*-narrator as direct or indirect witness. The chroniclers' preference for indirect speech keeps these words in the past and at some distance from the listeners-readers, presenting them as a historical truth that is objectified and remote. On the contrary, in the *chansons de geste*, historical events are re-lived as they are re-presented by the voice of the narrator-*jongleur*.[28]

In the texts of my corpus, as already mentioned, the testimonial function cannot be dissociated from the authorial one. However, it is possible to find references to the witness other than the simple author's name in the prologue (see [20] below). Such references occur with the following frequencies: Joinville (1.3 percent), Froissart's excerpt 1 (0.1 percent) and excerpt 3 (0.9 percent), Monstrelet (0.2 percent), Berry (0.2 percent), Commynes (3.6 percent). This category is difficult to evaluate since the *I* can be a direct witness, in which case his role may be confused with that of participant. Indeed, when Joinville, Froissart and Commynes say that they took part in certain events, they do so in order to reinforce their position as witnesses of history and therefore bolster their credibility. Joinville, nonetheless, often tells his own story rather than Saint Louis's.[29] Other

examples more clearly depict the chronicler as "external" witness [22]. In any case, these examples of testimonies and participation portray an *I* that does not only tell facts (*narrating self*) but also lived through them (*experiencing self*).

> [20] Et *je*, auteur de ce livre, qui *fus* présent à toutes ces choses, quand *j'en vis si* grand'foison, *je me merveillai* où l'on en avoit tant pris; (Froissart, excerpt 3, page 611, lines 28–30)
>
> [And *I*, author of this book, who attended all these things, when *I saw* such a great number of them, *I wondered* where so many were taken.]

On the other hand, when *I* is presented as an indirect witness, that is as having read or heard about an event, he can be confused with the narrator-author as person of the world who has collected various sources to compose his book (*narrating self*).[30]

> [21] Et là, de tous costés se commencèrent de très grandes escarmuches, auxquelles se porta très vaillamment, comme il *me* fut rapporté, messire Gauwain Quiéret, Hue de Longueval, et pluiseurs aultres, avec les chiefz dessus nommés. (Monstrelet, ll. 2006–2010)
>
> [And there, skirmishes began on all sides, where, *I was told*, Lord Gauwain Quiéret and Hue de Longueval behaved very bravely, as well as many others together with the aforementioned leaders.]
>
> [22] Les dessusdits rapportèrent les nouvelles à l'ost des Bretons, qui en eurent très grand joye, cuydant que ainsi fust, esperant les biens qui leur fussent advenuz si ledict monsr Charles eust esté roy; et tindrent conseil, *comme il m'a esté dit depuis par ung homme de bien qui estoit present*. (Commynes, book I, chapter V)
>
> [The aforementioned people reported this news to the Britons' army; the Britons were very happy, thinking that it was so, hoping for the good things that would have come to them if the aforementioned lord Charles were king, and they held a meeting, as *I was told afterwards by a gentleman who was present*.]

As mentioned above, some chronicles such as those by Joinville, Froissart (excerpts 2,3) and Commynes do not only refer to the *I* as witness but also as participant in the story.[31] The three excerpts taken from Froissart are especially interesting in this regard as they each present a different aspect. Excerpt 1 is taken from the first book in which Froissart, using mainly Jean le Bel's text, recounts events that he did not attend; he therefore mostly describes himself as narrator-author. In excerpt 3, taken from the fourth book, Froissart portrays himself as narrator-author (76 percent of the total number of first-person singular occurrences) but also as direct and indirect witness (17 percent). However he does not insist on his own activities at the

time of the events (5 percent). Excerpt 2 is quite distinct from the two others.[32] In the *Voyage de Béarn*, Froissart narrates his journey to the court of Gaston Phébus and his stay there, during which he had the opportunity to spend long moments with informants who told him about important events they had witnessed and gave him information about the region and Gaston Phébus. In that excerpt, Froissart often presents himself as character-traveler and "reporter" as well as writer-chronicler. He tells his informants that he will include their stories in his chronicle and he explains in the text how he would jot down all these anecdotes as soon as he arrived at his lodgings at the end of a day's traveling.

> [23] Des paroles que messire Espaing de Lyon *me* contoit étois-*je* tout réjoui, car elles *me* venoient grandement à plaisance, et toutes trop bien les *retenois*, et sitôt que aux hostels, sur le chemin que nous fesismes ensemble, descendu *étois, je les escripvois*, fût de soir ou de matin, pour en avoir mieux la mémoire au temps à venir; car il n'est si juste retentive que c'est d'écriture. (Froissart, excerpt 2, chapter XII, lines 1–7)
>
> [The words that Messire Espaing de Lyon was telling *me*, filled *me* with joy because they were very pleasing to *me*. And *I memorized* all of them very well. And as soon as *I arrived* at our lodgings, on the journey we were taking together, *I would write* them down whether at night or in the morning, in order to remember them for the times to come, because there is no better memory than in writing.]

The *Voyage de Béarn* contains a high number of first-person singular markers that refer to Froissart as *I*-narrator-author on the one hand (2.7 percent) and character-witness on the other hand (37.6 percent).[33] It also uses a substantial amount of direct speeches (80 percent of the narrative's space), much of which was uttered by Froissart himself in dialogue with his informants. Here the function of direct speech is not only to dramatize an historical event but also to dramatize and thus authenticate his source gathering.[34] Therefore the use of *I* and direct speeches does not appear to involve the listeners-readers in the narration (*you* is relatively infrequent) but rather to insist on the verisimilitude of the testimonial process: the *Voyage* portrays Froissart as a "reporter" interviewing an eyewitness and as a writer taking notes and speaking about his work. The excerpt is thus a representation of his work as a historian, a "chronique des *Chroniques*" that guarantees the truth of the whole opus.[35] This original dramatization is essentially confined to *Voyage de Béarn* since Froissart returns to a more traditional narration in the rest of the third book and in the fourth one (excerpt 3). However, one finds similar dramatizing effects in the references to the function of the direct witness in Joinville's text (1.3 percent first person singular markers) and in Commynes's excerpt

(3.5 percent of first person singular markers) and in the references to their participation in the story events (21 percent first person singular markers in Joinville and 1.3 percent in Commynes's excerpt).

Conclusion

The chronicles show a deliberate effort to emphasize the chroniclers' creating and writing activities as narrators-authors as well as their roles as witnesses and characters of the story. Each function helps to vouch for the truth of the events recounted. The above analyses have highlighted a clear shift occurring at the turn of the fourteenth century, with the use of first person singular markers to refer to the author-witness-character in Joinville's text. From then on, "l'engagement personnel du témoin" [the personal involvment of the witness] and "l'inscription du narrateur dans son récit" [the inscription of the narrator in his tale] contributed to the rhetoric of truth in the narrative.[36] It would be most interesting to use the same type of linguistic analysis in order to investigate whether this evolution is also reflected in lyric poetry in terms of a more purportedly "biographical" *je*-poet, such as one might find in the works of Christine de Pizan, Charles d'Orléans, or François Villon. [37]

Appendix

[12] Froissart, Book 1, par. 311

Pluiseur gongleour et enchanteour en place ont chanté et rimet lez guerres de Bretaigne et coromput par leurs chançons et rimes controuvees, le juste et vraie histoire, dont trop en desplaist à monseigneur Jehan le Biel qui le coummencha a mettre en prose et en cronique et à **moy, sire Jehan Froissart**, qui loyaument et justement l'*ay poursuiwi* à *mon pooir*. Car leur rimmez et leurs canchons controuvees n'ataindent en riens le vraie matere més velle ci si comme nous l'avons faite et achievee par le grande dilligensce que nous y avons rendut car on n'a riens sans fret et sans pene. **Jou, sire Jehans Froissars**, darrains venus depuis monseigneur Jehan le Bel en cel ouvraige, *ai ge allé et cherchiet* le plus grant partie de Bretaingne et *enquis et demandé* as seigneurs et as hiraux les gerrez, les prises, les assaux, les envaies, les bataillez, les rescousses et tous les biaux fés d'armes qui sont avenut mouvant sus l'an de grasce mil.CCC.XL poursieuwans jusquez à le darrainne datte de ce livre, tant à le requeste de mes dis seigneurs et à ses fraix que pour *me* plaisance acomplir et *moy fonder* sus titre de verité et dont *j'ay estet grandement recompenssés*.

[Many jongleurs and enchanters sang or put into rimes Britain's wars and corrupted by their songs and their invented rimes the just and true story, which highly displeased my lord Jehan Le Bel who began to transpose it in prose and chronicles and **myself, sir Jehan Froissart**, who faithfully and

justly *have continued* to do so, in as much *as I could*. Because their rimes and invented songs do not relate to the real material facts at all, here is how we did it and achieved it by the great care we put into it since one gains nothing without hardship and pain. **I, sir Jehan Froissart,** coming after my lord Jehan le Bel in this work, *have gone and searched* through the greatest part of Britain and *inquired and asked* noblemen and heralds about wars, attacks, assaults, invasions, rescues and all the beautiful battles that happened during the year 1340, carrying through the latest date of this book, to the request of my master above-named and with his funding as well as for *my* own pleasure and to *entitle myself* to the claim of truth, for which *I was greatly rewarded*.]

[13] Enguerran de Monstrelet, *Chronique*, ed. L. Douët-D'Arq (Paris: Société de l'histoire de France, 1857), book II, prologue.

Pour lesquelles ramener à mémoire et recordacion véritable, **je Enguerran de Monstrelet**, faisant *ma* résidence en la cité de Cambray, qui autreffois *ay prins* laborieux plaisir à faire mettre par escript, par manière de cronique, les mervilleuses adventures et vaillances d'armes dignes de louenges et recordacion, advenues au très crestien royaulme de France, ès pays voisin, et ès marche loingtaines, tant de la crestienté comme d'aultre loy, à *mon* petit entendement, sans polir les choses ne yssir hors de la matière, mais mettant le fait directement en ensuyvant les récitacions qui faictes en ont esté à *moy* par plusieurs hommes nobles et autres notables personnes . . . , qui ont esté presens aux besognes, *me suis remis* à continuer et à poursuyvir ce que de long temps *avoie et ay encommencée*, et a entendre les besongnes pour compiler ces présentes hystoires; qui se comprennent comme on pourra veoir à les lyre et oyr, en batailles mortelles, désolacions de plusieurs églises, cités, villes et forteresses, dépopulacion de moult de pays et aultres merveilles piteuses à recorder.
Si commencera ycellui *mon* second livre, ou mois d'octobre mil quatre cens et vint et deus.

[In order to bring them to memory and to true remembrance, **I Enguerran de Monstrelet**, having *my* residence in the City of Cambrai, who formerly *took* arduous pleasure in putting into writing, in the form of chronicle, the wonderful adventures and brave battles worthy of praises and remembrance, that occurred in the most Christian kingdom of France, in neighboring countries, and in faraway regions, both of Christian faith or of other religion, in *my* modest understanding, without polishing things nor straying from the subject-matter, but telling the straight facts following the stories reported to *me* by many noblemen and other notable people, . . . who attended these events, *I undertook* to continue and pursue what *I had begun* for a long time, and to hear these facts in order to compile the present stories, which consist—as one will see by reading and hearing them—in mortal battles, ruins of several churches, city, towns and fortresses, depopulation of many countries and other wonders pitiful to recount.

So now *my* second book will begin, in the month of October one thousand four hundred and twenty two.]

[14] Gilles Le Bouvier dit Le Héraut Berry, *Les Chroniques du roi Charles VII*, ed. H. Courteault and L. Celier (Paris: Klincksieck, 1979) p. 3–4.

Je Berry, premier herault du roy de France, mon naturel et souverain seigneur, et roy d'armes de son pays de Berry, honneur et reverance. A tous ceulx qui ce petit livre verront plaise savoir que au XVIe an de *mon* aage, qui fut l'an mil CCCC et deux, *je eu voulenté et fermay ma* pensee, ainsi que nature *me* ordonna et que en jeune aage ung chacun se applicque a faire labour ou sa plaisance se encline, *je prins mon* plaisir et delectation a veoir et a suivyr le monde ainsi comme *ma* complection y estoit encline. Et pour ce que en cel an le noble royaume de France et la bonne cité de Paris estoient a cel heure en la plus haulte auctorité et renommee de tous les royaulmes chrestiens et ou habondoient plus de noblesse, d'onneur et de biens tant en largement princes, prelaz, chevaleries, marchans, clercs et commun, comme autrement, et pour les haultes honneurs, richesses et plaisirs qui en ce noble et bon royaulme estoient, *je me appensé* que, a *mon* petit povoir et selon ce que *je porroye* comprandre en *mon* petit entendement, *je vouldroye* veoir a *mon* poveoir les honneurs et haulx faiz de cellui tres noble et tres chrestien royaulme, et *moy* trouver par le plaisir de Dieu partout ou *je saroye* a veoir les haultes assemblees et besoingnes d'icellui royaulme et des autres a *mon* povoir, et avecques ce, la veue d'icelles haultes choses seroient mises en escript par *moy* ainsi comme *je le saroye* comprandre, tant les biens faiz comme les maulx faiz. Si *me* doint Dieu grace que ce que *j'en feray* soit plaisant a ceulx qui le liront, orront ou vouldront veoir. Car toutes choses qui se escripvent ne puent pas estre plaisans a ung chascun, et ce ne porroit estre justement escript ne loyaument qui de telles matieres ne escriproit la verité, comme des choses cy aprés advenues, lesquelles sans nulle faveur *j'ay entencion* d'escripre a *mon* povoir et en *ma* conscience a la verité sans donner louange a l'une partie ne que a l'autre des divisions et guerres qui cy aprés ont esté ou dit royaulme de France et aussy des autres choses advenues et autres royaumes ou *je me suis trouvé*.

[**I Berry**, first herald of the king of France, my natural and supreme lord, and king of arms of his county of Berry, [give] honor and respect. May all these who will see this little book enjoy knowing that in the sixteenth year of *my* life, which was the year one thousand four hundred and two, *I decided* and *made up my mind*, as nature ordered *me* and as at a young age everybody takes care to work toward what his predilection leads him to do, *I took* pleasure and delighted in seeing and following the world, which *my* temperament was inclined to do. And because in that year the noble kingdom of France and the good city of Paris were at that time in the highest prominence and reputation where abounded more nobility, honor, and goodness as much in princes, prelates, knights, merchants, clerics, and common people, as in others, and because of the high honors, richness and pleasures that were in this noble and good kingdom, *I thought* that, in *my* modest capacity, and according to what *I could* understand with *my* humble intelligence, *I wanted* to see in as much as

I could the honors and lofty facts of this very noble and good kingdom, and to be with God's will, anywhere where *I could* see lofty gathering and events of this kingdom and others in as much as *I could*, and with this, the description of these lofty things would be written down by *myself* as *I could understand* them, both the good events and the bad events. May God give *me* the grace that what *I will make* of it will be pleasant to those who will read it, hear it or will want to see it. Since all written things cannot please everybody, and since it could not be written fairly nor faithfully if it did not write the truth about such subjects, as for the things that happened hereafter, *I intend* to write them without any bias, in *my* capacity and *my* conscience truthfully, without praising one party or the other for the divisions and the wars that hereafter occurred in the said kingdom of France and also in the other kingdoms where *I happened* to be.]

[15] Philippe de Commynes, *Mémoires*, ed. J. Calmette (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1964), vol. 1, Prologue of first book

Monsieur l'arcevesque de Vienne, pour satisfaire à la requeste qu'il vous a pleu *me* faire de vous escrire et mettre par memoire ce que *j'ay sceu et congneu* des faictz du roy Loys unziesme, à qui Dieu face pardon, nostre maistre et bienfaicteur, et prince digne de très excellente memoire, *je l'ay faict* le plus près de la verité que *j'ay peu et sceu avoir souvenance*. Du temps de sa jeunesse ne *scauroye parler*, sinon par ceque *je luy en ay ouy parler et dire*; mais, depuis le temps que *je veins* en son service, jusques à l'heure de son trespas, où *j'estoye present, ay faict* plus continuelle residence avec luy que nul autre, de l'estat à quoy *je le servoye*, qui, pour le moins, a tousjours esté de chambellan, ou occuppé en ses grans affaires. En luy et tous autres princes que *j'ay congneuz ou servy, ay congneu* du bien et du mal, car ilz sont hommes comme nous. A Dieu seul appartient la perfection. Mais quant en ung prince la vertu et bonnes condicions precèdent les vices, il est digne de grand louenge, veu qu'ilz sont plus enclins a toutes choses voluntaires que autres hommes.

[Lord archbishop of Vienna, it is in order to satisfy the request you were so kind to make that *I write* for you and put in memory what *I have known* of the deeds of Louis XI, whom God might forgive, our master and benefactor, and very worthy prince, of good memory, *I have done* it as closely to the truth as *I could and was able to remember*. About the time of his youth, *I could not speak*, except from what *I heard* him say and talk about; but since the time *I came* into his service until the day of his death, which *I witnessed, I spent* more time with him than anybody else, since *I was serving* him either at the very least as a chamberlain or for higher business. In him and all the other princes whom *I knew or served, I found* both good and evil, because they are men like us. Perfection belongs to God alone. But when in a prince, virtue and good disposition precede vices, he is praiseworthy, since princes are more inclined to do as they please than other men.]

Notes

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1. The problems posed by these notions in medieval literature and the difference between writer (real person) and author (textual creation) are developed in my book: *Narrateur et points de vue dans la littérature française médiévale: Une approche linguistique* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1998) pp. 18–19 and 216–220. In an "impersonal" narrative, the *I* is mostly absent from the text but latent since the narrative entity can sometimes express certain opinions and often presents the events from a perspective that is distinct from the characters' points of view (ibid., pp. 17–22).
2. For a reflection on the notions of truth and fiction in medieval chronicles and their links with other genres, see, amongst others: Suzanne Fleischman, "On the Representation of History and Fiction in the Middle Ages," *History and Theory, Studies in the Philosophy of History* 23 (1983): 278–310; Robert Levine, "Deadly Diatribe in the *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims*," *Res Publica Litterarum* 14 (1991): 115–126; Robert Levine, "The Pious Traitor: Rhetorical Reinventions of the Fall of Antioch," *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 33 (1998); Robert Levine, "Myth and Anti-Myth in Cuvelier's *La Vie Vaillante de Bertrand Du Guesclin*," *Viator* 16 (1985): 259–275; Sophie Marnette, "*Je dis que . . . Je pense que* . . . Le *je* narrateur, auteur, témoin et personnage des chroniques," *LYNX*. 32 (2002): 271–284; Sophie Marnette, "Sources du récit et discours rapportés: L'art de la représentation dans les chroniques et les romans français des 14e et 15e siècles," *Le Moyen Français* 51–53 (2002–2003): 435–459; Paul Zumthor, *Langue, texte, énigme* (Paris: Seuil, 1975).
3. Jeanette M. Beer, *Narrative Convention of Truth in the Middle Ages* (Geneva: Droz, 1981).
4. I am very grateful to Christiane Marchello-Nizia and her "Linguistique et Informatique" team of the ENS de Fontenay-Saint-Cloud (now the ENS Lettres et Sciences Humaines, relocated in Lyon) for allowing me to access their corpus of Middle French texts and their search engine.
5. Verse chronicles also existed in Medieval French although they were far more rare than the prose ones. See, for example, Jordan Fantosme's chronicle composed ca. 1175 or fourteenth-century historical poems such as Cuvelier's *La Vie Vaillante de Bertrand Du Guesclin* or the *Life of the Black Prince*, by the herald of Sir John Chandos. On these verse chronicles: Fleischman, "On the Representation of History," pp. 286–288; R.C. Johnston, "The Historicity of Jordan Fantosme," *Journal of Medieval History* 2 (1976): 159–168; M. D. Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), pp. 75–81; Levine, "Myth and Anti-Myth," pp. 259–275; J. J. N. Palmer, "Froissart et le Héraut Chandos," *Le Moyen Age: Revue d'Histoire et de Philologie* 88 (1982): 271–292.
6. Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *Romancing the Past. The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993) p. 56.

7. Sophie Marnette, "Narrateur et points de vue dans les chroniques médiévales: une approche linguistique," in *The Medieval Chronicle, Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle, Utrecht 13–16 July* 1996, ed. Erik Kooper (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999), pp.174–190; and Marnette, *Narrateur et points de vue* (1998).
8. When assessing the frequency of first- and second-person uses (personal pronouns, possessive adjectives and verb endings) in Clari and Villehardouin's chronicles, the average of first person singular markers is lower than 1 percent and lower than the average of first-person plural markers (1.5 percent and 2 percent) and second-person markers (1.3 percent and 3.2 percent). As a reminder, subject pronouns are not mandatory in medieval French. See note 12 below for the description of calculation procedures.
9. Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Raymond Faral, 2 vols. (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1961), vol. 1. All translations are mine.
10. Robert de Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. P. Lauer (Paris: Champion, 1924).
11. As Fleischman notes, the very selection of events betrays the subjectivity of the narrative and gives it a specific meaning ("On the Representation of History," p. 293). Michel Zink also highlights the subjectivity of Villehardouin and Clari's texts in *La Subjectivité littéraire autour du siècle de Saint Louis* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1985), pp. 209–212. Despite an apparently impersonal tone, these two texts carry specific messages. Villehardouin wants to justify the crusaders' decision to stop in Venice and to invade Constantinople (a Christian city), a decision in which he participipted as negotiator of the Venice treaty. Clari brings a different point of view on the same events since his experience is that of a poor knight who did not participate in important decisions but endured the hardships of the army, held grudges against some high noblemen and expressed his admiration for others. Voir Gérard Jacquin, "Robert de Clari, témoin et conteur," in *Et c'est la fin pour quoy sommes ensemble: Hommage à Jean Dufournet Littérature, histoire et langue du Moyen Age*, ed. J.-C. Aubailly, E. Baumgartner, F. Dubost, L. Dulac, and M. Faure, 3 vols. (Paris: Champion, 1993), vol. 2, pp. 747–754. Of course, the fact that both authors claim to relate the same historical events but from very different perspectives introduces a hint of plurality, at least for those who would happen to read both texts.
12. Calculation: there is a number x of first-person singular markers in a text (personal pronouns, possessive adjectives and verb endings) for a number y of lines in the narrative part (i. e., other than direct speeches uttered by characters). One divides x by y (knowing that there can be several occurrences of first-person singular markers per line) and then one multiplies the resulting number by 100 thereby obtaining a percentage. Since the various edited texts offer lines of different length, one must also transform the total number of lines into a number of syllables and divide it by 10 to work with decimal numbers. Application: 80 occurrences of first-person singular markers referring to the narrator in Froissart's excerpt 1 for 2305.5 lines in the narrative part. There are approximately 18 syllables per line. $80 \div ((2305.5 \times 18) \div 10) \times 100 = 1.9$ percent.

13. Regarding the importance of *I* and the role of witness in fourteenth and fifteenth-century chronicles, for Joinville, see: Michèle Perret, "A la fin de sa vie ne fuz-je mie . . .," *Revue des sciences humaines* 183 (1981): 17–37; for Commynes see: Joël Blanchard, "Commynes et l'historiographie de son temps," *Recherches sur la littérature du XVe siècle. Actes du VIe Colloque international sur le Moyen Français* (Milan:Vitae Pensiero Publicazioni dell' Università Cattolica, 1991), pp. 191–205; Olivier Soutet and Claude Thomasset, "Des marques de la subjectivité dans les *Mémoires* de Commyne," in *La Chronique et l'histoire au Moyen-Âge*, ed. Daniel Poirion, Cultures et civilisations médiévales 2 (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1984), pp. 27–44; Jean Dufournet, *Philippe de Commynes: un historien à l'aube des temps modernes* (Bruxelles: De Boeck Université, 1994). And for Froissart, see: Peter F. Ainsworth, "Configuring Transience: Patterns of Transmission and Transmissibility in the *Chroniques* (1395–1995)," in *Froissart across the genres*, ed. Donald Maddox and Sara Sturm-Maddox (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1998), pp. 15–39; Peter F. Ainsworth, *Jean Froissart and the Fabric of History: Truth, Myth and Fiction in the* Chroniques (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990); William Calin, "Narrative Technique in Fourteenth-Century France: Froissart and his *Chroniques*," in *Studies in Honor of Hans-Erich Keller*, ed. Rupert T. Pickens (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications Western Michigan University, 1993), pp. 227–236; G. T. Diller, "Froissart's 1389 Travel to Béarn: A Voyage Narration to the Center of the *Chroniques*," in *Froissart across the genres*, ed. Donald Maddox and Sara Sturm-Maddox (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1998), pp. 50–60. and *Froissart: Historian*, ed. J. J. N. Palmer (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1981). Interestingly, the *I* is used to refer to the author-witness in Jordan Fantosme's verse chronicle, which is earlier than the Constantinople chronicles: "Jo ne cunt mie fable cum cil qui ad oï, / Mes cum celui qu'i fud, e jo meismes le vi." [I do not tell a fable as one who heard about it but as one who was there, and I saw it in person] (my translation). Jordan Fantosme, *Chronicle*, lines 1768–1769, quoted by Anthony R. Lodge, "Literature and History in the *Chronicle* of Jordan Fantosme," *French Studies* 44: 3 (1990): 267 [257–270].
14. Global frequencies of the use of first-person singular markers are 0.7 percent for Monstrelet and 1.5 percent for Berry but they decrease to 0.2 percent if one only considers the body of the texts without the prologues in which the chroniclers present their works.
15. Enguerran de Monstrelet, *Chronique*, ed. L. Douët-D'Arq (Paris: Société de l'histoire de France, 1857), book II, chapters 258–278.
16. Commynes, *Mémoires*, ed. J. Calmette, 3 vols. (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1964), vol. 1.
17. Jehan de Joinville, *La Vie de Saint Louis. Le témoignage de Jehan, Seigneur de Joinville*, ed. N. Corbett (Quebec City: Naaman, 1977).
18. The three excerpts from Froissart come from the following editions: excerpt 1: *Chroniques*, ed. G. T. Diller (Genève: Droz, 1991), vol. 1, par. 1–100, pp. 1–131; excerpt 2: "Le voyage de Béarn," *Chroniques*, in A. Pauphilet and E. Pognon, *Historiens et Chroniqueurs du moyen âge*, (Paris: Gallimard, 1952),

pp. 486–565; excerpt 3: *Chroniques*, in A. Pauphilet and E. Pognon, *Historiens et Chroniqueurs du moyen âge* (Paris: Gallimard, 1952), pp. 605–647.

19. Commynes's name does not appear in the excerpt chosen for the corpus but is present in other parts of his chronicle.
20. See Blanchard, "Commynes et l'historiographie de son temps," p. 197.
21. Christiane Marchello-Nizia, "L'Historien et son prologue," in *La chronique et l'histoire au Moyen-Âge*, ed. Daniel Poirion, Cultures et civilisations médiévales 2 (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1984), p. 19 [13–25].
22. In the prose *Tristan* and other romances mentioned by Marchello-Nizia ("L'Historien et son prologue," p. 21), the first person singular markers that follow "*I*+ name" refer to the activity of translation and not to the role of witness.
23. In short, the difference between narrator *qua* narrator and narrator *qua* person of the world stems from Ducrot's distinction within the notion of locutor of two further discursive entities: Locutor-L: Locutor *qua* locutor (seen only in his capacity as an entity responsible for the utterance); Locutor-l: Locutor *qua* person of the world which has, amongst other characteristics, that of being at the origin of the utterance. On the one hand, a person who says "Honestly, I don't want to go," presents her enunciation and, therefore, herself in her capacity as locutor, as frank and honest. On the other hand, if the same person says "I am a very frank person," she is not suggesting anything about the quality of her enunciation or of herself as the locutor of that particular utterance (locutor-L) but is, rather, assigning a certain quality to herself in general, as a person of the world who also happens to be the locutor of that utterance (locutor-l). In *I say that X*, the pronoun *I* refers both to locutor-L and locutor-l. In summary, the utterance *I say that X* expresses two different things: a speech act and the description (staging) of that speech act. See Oswald Ducrot, *Le dire et le dit* (Paris: Minuit, 1984), p. 199. For a detailed discussion of this type of reported speech, see Sophie Marnette, "Aux frontières du discours rapporté," *Revue* Romane 37 (2002): 3–30.
24. Although expressions such as *I say that* express a speech act, expressions such as *I think that, I believe that*, which some call "reports of a thought act" do not work in the same way. Indeed, one does not perform the act of thinking when saying *I think that it is true*, nor the act of believing when saying *I believe that it is true*. Contrary to a speech act, a thought act cannot be realized through language; it can only be described through it. However, both expressions contain a verb in the present tense and in the first-person singular, and I would describe both of them as "reflexive" reported speeches and thoughts. See Marnette, "Aux frontières du discours rapporté."
25. See Marnette, "Sources du récit et discours rapportés."
26. For detailed numbers and a comparison with prose romances, see Marnette, "Sources du récit et discours rapportés." As a quick reminder, the term "reported speech" (in French: *discours rapporté*) actually refers to both speech and thoughts presentation. In direct speech, the reporting speaker evokes the

original speech/thought situation and conveys, or rather claims to convey, the exact words [ideas] of the supposed original locutor. The pronouns, tenses and deictic words ("here"/ "there", "today" / "yesterday," etc.) of the original utterance stay the same: they are not transposed [a]. In indirect speech, the reporting speaker transposes the original utterance in his/her own words. The reported speech is subordinated to a reporting verb and is introduced by a subordinating conjunction. The pronouns, tenses and deictics of the reported speech are switched to the reporting situation [b].

a. Froissart 2, chapter IX, line 16
   Lors lui demandois-je: "Sire, et à quels gens donne-t-il ses dons?"
   [Then I asked him: "Lord, and to which people does he offer his gifts?"]
b. Clari, par. 4, lines 1–2.
   Quant li marchis fu venus a Sessons, si demanda as barons pour coi il l'avoient mandé.

   [When the marquis arrived in Soisson, he asked the barons why they had sent for him.]

Of course, quotation marks [a] were not used in medieval manuscript but are added by the modern editor.

27. One should add, however, that the impossibility of reporting words as they were originally uttered (or even thought) does not automatically preclude the use of direct speech. In fact the problem is exactly the same in spoken narratives but they use direct speech as much as indirect speech, thereby allowing the speaker to dramatize his/her story and to involve addressees.
28. Sophie Marnette, *Narrateur et points de vue*, (1998), p. 135; "Narrateur et points de vue," (1999), pp. 177–178, 185.
29. Perret, "A la fin de sa vie ne fuz-je mie . . .," pp. 18 and 26.
30. It is the locutor-l (see note 23 above).
31. Joinville (first-person singular markers 21 percent, first-person plural markers 12.5 percent), Froissart's excerpt 2 (37.6 percent, 13.5 percent), Froissart's excerpt 3(5 percent), Commynes (1.3 percent, 2.7 percent).
32. For detailed analysis, see Ainsworth, "Configuring Transience," pp. 17–21 and Aisnworth, *Jean Froissart and the Fabric of History*, pp. 140–171; Calin, "Narrative Technique" and Diller "Froissart's 1389 Travel to Béarn."
33. One can add 13.5 percent of first-person plural markers.
34. Ainsworth notes that the voices of Froissart's informants sound much like his own, exhibiting the same manners and expressions (*Jean Froissart and the Fabric of History*, pp. 150–151). Diller submits that one informant, Espan de Lyon, is in fact invented by Froissart, which reinforces my point about the staging of source gathering ("Froissart's 1389 Travel to Béarn," p. 57).
35. Diller, "Froissart's 1389 Travel to Béarn," p. 57.
36. Michèle Perret, "A la fin de sa vie ne fuz-je mie . . .," pp. 2–3.
37. On this topic, see Zink, *La Subjectivité littéraire*.

CHAPTER 7

NEUTRALITY AFFECTS: FROISSART AND THE PRACTICE OF HISTORIOGRAPHIC AUTHORSHIP

Zrinka Stahuljak

> Le Neutre ne peut se dire franchement.
>
> *Roland Barthes*

Jean Froissart's *Chroniques* narrate the history, from 1326 to 1400, of the origins and the first half of the Hundred Years' War between the kingdom of France and England (1337–1453), in which the ruling Valois and Plantagenet dynasties disputed their respective hereditary rights to the French royal throne. Throughout book IV, the last book of the *Chroniques*, Froissart reports the efforts of the French king Charles VI to persuade the neighboring kingdoms and domains to "se tourner neutre" [to become neutral], in order to resolve the papal schism which was to divide the Catholic Church from 1378 to 1449. In the very last episode which concludes the narrative of the *Chroniques*, the citizens of the powerful city of Liège finally align themselves with the French king and adopt the position of neutrality, thereby disavowing their alliance to the Roman pope Boniface IX. In response, Boniface sends a papal legate from Rome, who himself sends a messenger from Cologne carrying papal letters in an attempt to dissuade the citizens of Liège. But they respond to the messenger: "Ne retourne plus pour tels choses sur le peyne d'estre noyé; car autant de messages qui vendront icy pour telle matière, certes nous les jetterons en Mouse" (XVI, 240) [Do not return any more for these affairs under the penalty of drowning; as many messengers who will come here for this

matter, certainly we will throw them into the river Meuse].[1] And it is with these very words that the *Chroniques* end: at the moment of the achievement and the affirmation of neutrality of the citizens of Liège.

The statement of neutrality thus abruptly ends the narrative throughout which Froissart has maintained that he is a neutral recorder of history. In this chapter, I explore the connection between Froissart's stance of historiographic neutrality and the cessation of historiographic writing at the moment of the victorious affirmation of political neutrality: "[T]out le pays se tourna neutre à la contemplation du roy de France" (XVI, 239) [The whole country became neutral in consideration of the king of France]. First, I argue that the abrupt ending is linked to the very condition of neutral historiographic writing, rather than to Froissart's death, which critics have used to explain the end to the *Chroniques*.[2] Froissart, unlike his contemporaries, does not write in order to legitimize either the Valois or the Plantagenet dynasty competing for the French throne; however, his so-called neutral text both records and embodies the tensions inherent to neutral authorship. In other words, I suggest that the neutral text problematizes neutrality. Second, I address the puzzling question of three depositions that Froissart describes immediately prior to the declaration of neutrality of Liège: the depositions of Richard II, the English king, Benedict XIII, the Avignonese pope, and Wenceslas, emperor of Germany and king of the Romans. What is the connection between the depositions, the declaration of neutrality, and the ultimate silence of the neutral historiographer?

According to Bernard Guenée, the historian has been a tool of political propaganda and of legitimation of new dynasties since the fourteenth century, and thus is by definition partial.[3] However, critics agree that Froissart positions himself as an impartial translator of the conflict.[4] He proclaims from the beginning of the prologue to the *Chroniques* to merely "registrer" [record] the events which are "notablement registré . . . par juste enqueste" (1st redaction, II, 1) [memorably recorded by just inquiry] of the participants in the war, "sans faire fait, ne porter partie, ne coulourer plus l'un que l'autre . . . de quel pays qu'il soient" (3rd redaction, II, 7) [without inventing or taking sides, without tainting one more than the other, . . . from whichever country they may be],[5] "de quel païs et nation que il soient" (4th redaction, II, 11) [from whichever country or nation they may be].[6] Throughout the *Chroniques*, Froissart uses various strategies to establish his stated neutrality. First, he shifts from verse to prose, distancing himself from the use of rhyme, which is inadequate in the transmission of truth.[7] Second, he abandons the use of his written source, Jean le Bel's *Chronique*, in exchange for oral testimonies of war protagonists and eyewitnesses.[8] If "truthfulness seems to be linked to oral narration," as Kevin Brownlee has pointed out, the very orality of the testimonies collected by Froissart founds

the truthfulness of the historiographic text.[9] Reliance on oral testimonies, however, obliges the historian to distinguish between the protagonist who is interviewing eyewitnesses, and the author who is putting their testimonies in writing. In order to support his neutrality, Froissart creates a narrative with a double perspective by splitting his "je." On the one hand, there is the "je" of the protagonist-traveler who collects the information "des vaillans hommes, chevaliers et equiers" (4th redaction, II, 11) [from brave men, knights and esquires]. On the other hand, there is the "je" of the author, "je Jehans Froissars," who forms a narrative from the testimonies collected, "mettre en prose et ordonner selonch la vraie information" (4th redaction, II, 11) [write in prose and organize according to the true information]. Claiming that he did not alter the testimonies that he had collected, Froissart-author has to assume responsibility only for the translation of testimonies into the narrative, their "ordonnance" [organization].[10] Finally, Froissart always attempts to provide accounts of war events from both parties involved in the conflict, a method and form unique to medieval historiography.[11] In so doing, he takes a double position, which is mirrored in the very structure of the *Chroniques*. As Froissart adopts a balanced, impartial stance, so the text becomes balanced. Books I and II are balanced against books III and IV: Froissart used Jean le Bel's *Chronique* as a source for the first two books of his *Chroniques*, but for books III and IV he used oral testimonies of the war's protagonists. In addition, the end of the *Chroniques* mirrors its beginning, doubling the motif of deposition: the work begins with the deposition of the English king Edward II (1326) and it ends with the deposition of Richard II (1399). Thus, as Froissart's text is constantly written and rewritten between two opposing war narratives, it is in a state of continuous tension as it doubles itself repeatedly for the purpose of achieving an impartial narrative.

The most important neutral protagonist of the *Chroniques* is not Charles VI, despite the fact that the end of the *Chroniques* leads us to believe so, but Gaston de Foix, count of Foix and Béarn, also known as Fébus, whom Froissart visits in the winter of 1388–1389. Politically, Fébus was a complex figure. He adopted a successful politics of neutrality in the conflict, which led to the acquisition of sovereignty of Foix and Béarn that the earldom maintained until 1620:[12] "[I]l ne courroucheroit pas voulentiers [le roy de France ou le roy d'Engleterre]. Et trop bien de leurs guerres il s'est sceu dissimuler jusques à présent, car oncques ne se voult armer, ne pour l'une partie, ne pour l'autre, et est bien de l'un et de l'autre" (XI, 52) [He would not willingly anger the king of France or the king of England. And until now he has known only too well how to dissimulate from their wars, for he has never wanted to take up the arms for one side nor for the other, and he belongs to one side and to the other]. Neutrality is expressed in the neither/nor construction, "ne pour l'une partie, ne pour l'autre." Although

Froissart characterizes Fébus's neutrality as "dissimulation," Fébus's political neutrality only adds to his political skill: "Il fut preud'homme en régner" (XI, 86) [He was valiant in matters of governance]. Because of his neutrality, Fébus surpasses all noblemen in his wisdom: "[I]l est aujourd'huy le plus sage prince qui vive et . . . nul hault seigneur, comme est le roy de France ou le roy d'Angleterre, couroucheroit moins volentiers et plus envis" (XI, 52) [He is today the wisest prince alive and . . . there is no noble lord, such as the king of France or the king of England, whom he would anger less willingly and with more displeasure]. Indeed, it is his neutrality that makes him "en justiciant . . . le plus droitturier et le plus criminel [var. cruel] seigneur qui vive" (XI, 54) [in dispensing justice . . . the most just and the most criminal (cruel) lord alive].[13] Justice is so well preserved in his state that "il n'est nul François, ne Anglois, ne pillars, qui face à ses hommes tort de ung petit denier, et est toute sa terre aussi saulve que chose puet estre, tant y est bien justice gardée" (XI, 54) [there is no Frenchman, Englishman or robber who would wrong his men for a penny and all of his land is as safe as it can be, so well is justice kept in it]. Neutral and just, Fébus assumes a figure of perfection: "De toutes choses il estoit si parfait et tant apris que on ne le povoit trop loer" (XI, 86) [In all things he was so perfect and so learned that one could not praise him enough]. Fébus's court is a neutral and just metaphorical representation of the neutral and just corpus of the *Chroniques*, just like Fébus is a representation of the neutral and just body of the historian who provides ideologically diverse testimonies.[14] Fébus is the glorious embodiment of neutral politics—Froissart's political alter ego.[15]

However, a curious subplot permeates the first half of Froissart's portrayal of Fébus. Froissart reports three situations of mistreatment of family members by Fébus. The first two concern two separate murders that Fébus is said to have committed: first, Fébus supposedly killed his cousin Pierre-Arnaut de Béarn, who refused to hand over the fortress of Lourdes. Fébus wounded Pierre-Arnaut with a knife and then sent him to prison, where Pierre-Arnaut died "car il fut petitement soingnié de ses playes" (XI, 70) [because he was poorly cured of his wounds]. In the second instance, Fébus is said to have killed his only son Gaston, the legitimate heir to the title and the lands, who allegedly tried to poison Fébus. Having discovered the poison in young Gaston's possession, Fébus first imprisoned him and then later, allegedly unintentionally and unknowingly, struck his son with a small knife. Young Gaston, weak from self-imposed starvation (for fear of being poisoned himself), succumbed to the wound (XI, 89–100). Third, Froissart also reports the imprisonment of "le vicomte de Chastelbon," the legitimate heir to Foix and Béarn after young Gaston's death, whom Fébus hated and whom he ransomed and released after eight months of prison (XI, 71).

Young Gaston and Pierre-Arnaut both die from a knife wound inflicted by Fébus, and they both die in prison, ostensibly unbeknownst to the perpetrator. Peter Ainsworth and Kevin Brownlee have emphasized the intricate parallelisms that exist between the two murders. According to Ainsworth, Froissart's narrative implies that Fébus did not intend his cousin's death; it is only after Pierre-Arnaut's refusal, that, unexpectedly, "le sang luy prist à muer en félonnie et en courrous" (XI, 70) [his blood started to turn to violence and anger]. Likewise, young Gaston had already been imprisoned in order to await justice for his possibly unintentional attempt to poison Fébus—Fébus had agreed to accept the decision by his nobles and did not need to punish his son himself. Second, Ainsworth argues, Fébus' intention only to imprison, not kill, both Gaston and Pierre-Arnaut is reinforced by the treatment of the viscount of Castelbon: Fébus "might indeed be capable of imprisoning and ransoming an heir, but would clearly not willingly kill him, however great might be his loathing for the man."[16] Ainsworth concludes that "the parallel" of "the two 'murders' and the two tales of ill-treatment of heirs on Fébus' part . . . goes some way towards exonerating Fébus: the two accounts both illuminate and 'explain' each other."[17] Unlike Ainsworth, Kevin Brownlee does not believe that Froissart's narrative mitigates Fébus's responsibility in both murders. Rather, he argues that this parallelism provides Froissart's narrative with a double perspective. Brownlee shows that the murder of young Gaston repeats the narrative structure of Pierre-Arnaut's murder. But, while the murder of Pierre-Arnaut is presented as an "ignoble" attack, Fébus is exculpated narratively from the murder of his son because of the "story's insistence on . . . 'pure' intentionality."[18] Fébus accidentally struck his son in the vein with his nail-cutter and left the prison unaware of the injury he inflicted. Brownlee concludes that the "overall narrative . . . invite[s] two contrastive (even contradictory) interpretations: one in which Fébus is innocent; a second in which the count is guilty."[19]

I wish to stress the fact that the parallelism between the scenes does not bind two historical events, but instead binds a historical event, the murder of young Gaston, to a fictional event, the murder of Pierre-Arnaut. This fact has escaped the attention of most Froissardian critics, except for Pierre Tucoo-Chala, who argued that the scene of Pierre-Arnaut's murder is fictional, since "Pierre-Arnaut figure dans la liste des personnes ayant assisté aux obsèques du comte de Foix en 1391" [Pierre-Arnaut is on the list of persons who were present at the funeral of the count of Foix in 1391].[20] Tucoo-Chala's argument was based on one mention of Pierre-Arnaut after his death by Froissart; however Pierre-Arnaut's presence at the funeral is not clear, rather what is inferred is that he is still alive: "L'espée offry messire Rogier d'Espaigne adestré du bourg de Copane et de *Pierre Ernault de Berne*,

capitaine de Lourde" (XIV, 338; my emphasis) [The sword was handed over by Roger of Spain, second in command of the town of Copane and of *Pierre-Arnaut of Béarn*, captain of Lourdes]. But in another instance, in book IV, Froissart confirms that Pierre-Arnaut's death is a fiction, while narrating an event taking place several years after his visit to Foix and Béarn. He quotes the count of Armagnac: "[E]ncoires ne sont pas tous les fors délivrés, ne acquittés. Velà celluy de Lourde que *mesire Pierre Ernault* tient en garnison de par le roy d'Angleterre . . ." (XIV, 295; my emphasis) [All the fortresses have not yet been liberated nor paid for. There is the fortress of Lourdes which *sir Pierre Arnaut* holds by the king of England]. Pierre Arnaut is thus shown to be in charge of the very same fortress for which Fébus, we were told, killed him. The question is then: what purpose does this fiction perform for Froissart?

While I agree with Brownlee that the murder of Pierre-Arnaut parallels the murder of Fébus's son in order to prove that Fébus did not (intentionally) murder his son, I also support Ainsworth's argument that Froissart justifies Fébus's murder of Pierre-Arnaut.[21] Fébus is said to have killed Pierre-Arnaut because the latter refused to turn over Lourdes "par la foy de lignage que vous me devés" (XI, 70) [by fealty of lineage that you owe me]. Fébus seeks to gain control over Lourdes in order to appease the duke of Anjou and to protect himself from future attacks by this powerful enemy: "Sachiés que monseigneur d'Angou me veult grant mal pour la garnison de Lourde que vous tenés, et à pou près en a esté ma terre courue . . . et est sa parole et l'oppinion de plusieurs de sa compaignie qui me haient, disans que je vous soustiens pour tant que vous estes de Berne" (XI, 69) [Know that sire d'Anjou wants to harm me on account of the garrison of Lourdes which you hold and he almost overran my lands because of it. And he says, and it is the opinion of several of his companions who hate me, that I support you because you are from Béarn]. In a neutral territory, a fortress with an allegiance to the English king is unacceptable to the French.[22] But Pierre-Arnaut refuses Fébus's request, invoking a higher loyalty—a homage given to the king of England: "[L]e chastel de Lourde je ne renderay fors à mon naturel seigneur le roy d'Angleterre" (XI, 69) [I will not surrender the fortress of Lourdes to anyone except my natural lord, the king of England]. Fébus then strikes Pierre-Arnaut five times with a knife.[23] How can the perfection of the neutral figure coexist with such violence? Just before striking him, Fébus accuses Pierre-Arnaut of treachery: "Faulx traitre, as-tu dit ce mot de non faire?" (SHF XII, 62) [False traitor, are you refusing to do it?][24] While neutrality is often associated with passivity and nonagression, with a refusal to take position, precisely a form of "ce mot de non faire," Fébus's accusation sheds a different light on neutrality. Here, Pierre-Arnaut's allegiance to the English lord, that is his non-neutral position, is a

"non-doing," "ce mot de non faire." Conversely, Fébus's position, the one of "doing," is the position of neutrality. For Fébus, to be neutral is to be active, not passive. Most important, neutrality is redefined, from a nonengaged position, to another form of allegiance. When Fébus demands that Pierre-Arnaut surrender Lourdes, he asks him to abandon his allegiance to his "naturel seigneur." But, despite appearances, this is not a demand to reaffirm his allegiance to the "foy de lignage." Rather, Fébus asks Pierre-Arnaut to swear allegiance to his neutral position. Neutrality may renounce all existing allegiance, but at the same time it turns into a form of allegiance. Being neutral is therefore not to refuse taking a position, but rather to assume a position. Consequently, neutrality forces the neutral figure to assert himself and to assume the conflictual nature of this position. Fébus thus uses physical violence in order to maintain his neutrality; he commits murder in order to obtain the fortress of Lourdes and thus to remain neutral and avoid being drawn into a conflict with the duke of Anjou and France, a conflict in which Fébus could inadvertently help the English, thereby putting into question his neutrality. Fébus's unmasking of "ce mot de non faire" as nonneutral and his insistence on neutrality as active reveal that it is only in appearance that neutrality is a practice of a politics of nonconflict. Instead, to say that one is neutral is to participate in the violence of war. Froissart can therefore invent the murder of Pierre-Arnaut; the murder can be seen as a demonstration of what neutrality entails and it can also serve as an example of a just crime committed for the purpose of protecting Fébus's neutrality: "Je n'ay que faire d'avoir la malveillance de si hault prince comme est monseigneur d'Angou" (XI, 69–70) [It is not in my interest to be the target of such a high prince as is sire d'Anjou]. An act of violence does not detract from his neutrality; on the contrary, according to Froissart's interpretation of neutrality, violence is a condition of the maintenance of neutrality. It is even this violence of neutrality that acquires an exemplary status of perfection. When the (fictional) murder of Pierre-Arnaut moves the French king to offer a return gift of the earldom of Bigorre, Fébus politely declines: "[L]e conte de Foix ne voult retenir le don, mais il retint le chastel de Mauvoisin pour tant que c'est france terre, et que le chastel et la chastellerie ne sont tenus de nulluy fors de Dieu, et aussi ce avoit esté anciennement son droit héritaige" (XI, 73) [The count of Foix did not want to retain the gift, only the castle of Mauvezin, because it is free land and the castle and the manor belong only to God, and also because this had previously been his rightful inheritance]. While the fiction of Pierre-Arnaut's murder probably serves to explain the acquisition of Mauvezin by Fébus, in retaining only the castle of Mauvezin and refusing to conquer Bigorre, Fébus highlights his choice of neutrality: Mauvezin belongs "only to God." Thus the fictional murder of Pierre-Arnaut not only exculpates Fébus from the murder of his son, it

paradoxically exemplifies his very political neutrality, a neutrality that the murderous violence is shown to protect.[25] It is for this reason that Fébus is characterized as "le plus droitturier et le plus criminel [cruel] seigneur qui vive"—his very neutrality demands violence of him. Neutrality, as a form of justice, is fair and cruel.

If Fébus is Froissart's neutral alter ego, in what position do neutral historiographic writing and its author find themselves? In order to maintain Fébus's perfect figure of neutrality despite the murder of his son, Froissart creates a double narrative. The doubling of the murderous narrative by the fictional murder represents the doubling that a neutral narrative must perform throughout the *Chroniques*: the "je" of the protagonist-traveller and the "je" of the author, war testimonies from both sides, structural doubling of books I and II with books III and IV, and doubling of depositions. This recalls another doubling that we might have observed in Froissart's initial description of Fébus's neutrality: "[D]e leurs guerres il s'est sceu dissimuler jusques à présent, car oncques ne se voult armer, ne pour l'une partie, ne pour l'autre, et est bien de l'un et de l'autre" (XI, 52) [And until now he has known only too well how to dissimulate from their wars, for he has never wanted to take up the arms for one side nor for the other, and he belongs to one side and to the other]. Neutrality is not simply a double negation, in the form of the neither/nor construction, "ne pour l'une partie, ne pour l'autre," it is at the same time a double affirmation, "et est bien de l'un et de l'autre." In other words, in order to be neutral, the historiographic text must be double. But this doubleness is a form of "dissimulation," a sort of duplicity, and the double/duplicitous narrative is nothing short of murderous. Froissart maintains Fébus's neutrality by committing a textual, symbolic murder of Pierre-Arnaut, whom he is later obliged to resurrect silently. What the fictional narrative ultimately tells us is that to maintain the neutral figure of Fébus, Froissart must create a double narrative—the story of young Gaston and of Pierre-Arnaut—which turns out to be doubly murderous and the murderous effect of which duplicitously undermines its original intention of providing a balanced narrative of Fébus's exculpation.[26] Then, in a second move, Froissart paradoxically uses the duplicity of neutrality to explain—and justify—that neutrality actually calls for murderous violence, a violence which participates in the creation of the perfect neutral figure of Fébus and a violence in which the *Chroniques* themselves partake.[27]

This doubling of the narrative, which continues throughout the *Chroniques*, forces Froissart to reassess his own (double) neutral text in book IV, when describing the political power of language during the Hundred Years' War. He knows that language can play an important role in a conflict. The episode of the peace talks in Lelinghen (1394) is devoted to the political force of one language in particular: French. The inherent duplicitous nature of

French becomes apparent during the "pourparlers" [talks, negotiations] between the French and the English: "[C]ar en parlure françoise a mots soubtils et couvers et sur double entendement, et les tournent les François, là où ils veulent, à leur prouffit et avantage; ce que les Anglois ne sçauroient trouver, ne faire, car euls ne le veulent entendre que plainement" (XV, 114) [Since in the French language there are deceptive words and covered ones and those based on double-entendre, the French turn them, where they wish, to their profit and advantage; which the English would not know how to discover, or to do, since they want to understand French plainly]. The English, incapable of such deception, are thus forced to carefully check the French language, down to the letter, in order to make sure they understand it well, in its plain meaning:

> Ils entendoient à ce que les lettres fuissent si bien vériffiées que nulle chose de tourblé, ne de obscur qui touchast à empeschement, n'y peuist estre entendu, ne veu; et de ce avoient les Anglois grant soing et diligence, et vouloient bien tous ces articles et traittiés proposer et escrutiner, avant que ils le séellassent, ne voulsissent passer, et toutes ces paroles justement entendre. (XV, 123)
>
> [They intended that the letters be verified so well that nothing confusing or leading to obscurity could be understood or seen. And the English, who placed great care and diligence in this matter, wanted to see and scrutinize all the articles and treaties, before agreeing to them, and did not want to pass over any, and wanted to hear all those words exactly.]

Most important, because French is a "parlure obscure . . . en tourble" (XV, 114–115) [an obscure language . . . in turmoil, confusion], with "tant de paroles coulourées" (XV, 120) [so many tainted words], it can be made to mean either war or peace: "[Q]ue quant vous voulés il est guerre, et quant vous voulees, il est paix" (XV, 120) [When you want, there is war and, when you want, there is peace]. Because French consists of "mots soubtils et couvers et sur double entendement" [deceptive words and covered ones and those based on double-entendre] it can be used to breach contracts: "[L]es conditions conditionnées sur les articles de la paix . . . ils les avoient enfraintes et brisies" (XV, 114) [The conditions negotiated in the articles of the peace-treaty . . . had been infringed and broken]. The French language is thus, more than any other, duplicitous; in other words, it is capable of being split between two different and even opposed meanings. The speakers can hide behind this duplicity to dissimulate ("se dissimuler," XI, 52), breaching their oath while claiming to have respected it. Linguistic duplicity is viewed as a political asset, a war tool: depending on the circumstances, the speaker will exploit the duplicity of language to shift his political position, to change his

intention and, with it, his allegiance. Because language is split, words can be made to "turn" either way: "[E]t les tournent les François, là où ils veulent" (XV, 114) [the French turn them where they wish]). Language facilitates usurpation and conquest through betrayal. The same oath will retroactively be reinterpreted as having meant war instead of peace or vice versa. More than any other language, French relies on the political power of double meaning, which facilitates political betrayal of allegiance while at the same time hiding it.

Froissart, who writes in French, problematizes indirectly, and perhaps even unwillingly, the neutrality of his own historiographic language in the Lelinghen episode.[28] Froissart's historiographic work is founded precisely on the double nature of French which can "brisier," "enfraindre," and "tourner." Even Froissart's supposedly neutral translation of the testimonies depends on such treacherous language. It is interesting to learn that both the French and the English claimed Froissart's *Chroniques* as their representative historiographic text of the Hundred Years' War. What kind of linguistic duplicity, what "turn" of phrase, allowed this text to announce its allegiance to both the French and the English? The neutral position appears to function not as a position belonging to neither one nor the other, but rather as a position belonging to both. The text of the *Chroniques* belongs to at least two parties, and this double position is facilitated, or perhaps enacted, through the duplicity of the French language. Froissart's *Chroniques* may be "French" to the extent that they too are split, "double," and as such "shifty." They are shifty because obscure words, not committed to one plain ["plainement"] or exact ["justement"] meaning, shift with the change of intention of the speaker: "When you want, there is war and, when you want, there is peace." The intentional duplicity of the French language staged in the Lelinghen episode may point to an unintentional political duplicity of the *Chroniques*—an unintentional but unavoidable duplicity of neutrality. Froissart acknowledged this problem already in the prologue to the second redaction of the *Chroniques*: "Et pour ce que je n'y vueil mettre, ne oster, oublier, ne corrompre, ne abrégier hystoire en riens *par deffaute de langage*" (2nd redaction, II, 6; my emphasis) [And for this reason I don't want to put, take out, forget, corrupt, or shorten the story in any detail *by default of language*].

Froissart's performance of authorial neutrality is problematized again in the sequence of episodes concerning the papal schism in book IV. The English refuse Richard II's promise to adopt the stance of neutrality in the matter of papal schism, according to Charles VI's proposal: "Ce roy est tous françois. Il ne vise fors à nous déshonnourer et destruire . . . .Or n'en ferons-nous riens puisque le roy de France le propose ainsi. Tiengne la neutrale en sa puissance, et nous tendrons fermement nostre créance en

Angleterre" (XVI, 135) [This king is completely French. He aims only to dishonor and destroy us . . . But we will do nothing of this since the king of France is proposing it. Let him keep neutrality in his power and we will firmly hold onto our faith in England]. When the English refuse to "se tourner neutre" [to become neutral], they imply that language that proposes neutrality cannot be disassociated from power, "[t]iengne la neutrale en sa puissance." On the contrary, language proposing neutrality is likely to "nous déshonnourer et destruire" precisely because of its affiliation with power. By wishing to comply with the French king's request for neutrality, the English king is seen as "tous françois" because he is blind to the reality of neutrality as power. French is a language of power and not of neutrality, and as such it is divisive in its very effort to reconcile and pacify.[29] Even though Richard II, "le roy d'Angleterre qui de tous poins s'enclinoit à la paix" (XV, 201) [the king of England who was leaning toward peace in all matters], is willing to accept the position of neutrality in the papal schism in order to help achieve peace between France and England, for the English, a neutral and pacifist position is a weakness:

> Ne il ne monstre pas, ne oncques ne fist, que son père fuist le prince de Galles; car se il l'euist esté, il euist enssieuvy ses oeuvres et prins garde et plaisance à ses proesces, et oncques il n'a voulu que le repos et le séjour, les oiseuses et les esbatemens des dames et des damoiselles, et estre toujours enmy elles. (XVI, 159–160)
>
> [And he does not show, and never did, that his father was the prince of Wales; for if he had been his father, he would have continued his feats and taken care and pleasure in his prowess, but he has never wanted anything else but rest and repose, idleness and amusement of the ladies and damsels, and to be always amongst them.]

Richard II's acceptance of neutrality means effeminacy, making the virility of a ruler suspect. If Richard II were to accept neutrality, he would submit himself to the French king, and England would be submitted to France: "Ceste chose ne se puet longuement tenir en cest estat, que Angleterre ne soit perdue sans recouvrer" (XVI, 157) [This state of things cannot continue for much longer, without England being lost once for all].[30] Throughout the *Chroniques*, Froissart has described neutrality as a double and duplicitous state, containing both negation ("ne/ne") and affirmation ("et/et"). Toward the end of the historiographic narrative, this double state of neutrality is explicitly linked to sexuality. Thus Fébus and the French could be said to represent a "virile" neutrality—the active, affirmative assumption of the so-called neutral position—and Richard II an "effeminate" neutrality—the passive, negative position of submission. Sexualized, neutrality is shown to

be constructed around two complementary poles: the dominant and the submissive. Neutrality is an exercise of highly sexualized power relations. It is therefore not surprising to discover that Froissart uses the term "tourner neutre" or "estre neutre" [to become neutral or to be neutral] to describe the idea of "soustraction" [withdrawal of obedience], which was France's preferred method in dealing with the papal schism. The idea was to create the conditions in all of Christianity for the withdrawal of state support from both popes, in Avignon and in Rome, in order to force them to abdicate, that is to "soubmettre" [to submit].[31] This method, referred to in English as the way of cession, would lead to the election of a new single pope who could reunify the Church.[32] To equate neutrality with cession—Froissart calls "soustraction" "estre neutre"—indicates that for Froissart, French neutrality (and neutrality spoken in French) is a position that aims to submit by withdrawing its support. Neutrality asserts its power by withdrawing power. In fact, to have any effect at all on the issue of division, it needs to assert itself. Paradoxically, neutrality becomes an assertion when it should not be one, thereby supporting the very notions of power play that it originally aimed to deconstruct. Reaching a just decision in the matters of papal schism therefore may not be seen as neutral, but as partial and even partisan. When the Avignonese papal legate, Cardinal de la Luna, appears at the peace negotiations at Lelinghen, the English threaten to break off the negotiations: "Nous sommes déterminés à pape auquel nous obéissons et voulons obéir. Si n'avons que faire de oyr parler à l'encontre, et, se il [de la Luna] venoit avant sur nos traittiés par la faveur de vous, nous clorrions tous nos parlemens et nous en retournerions arrière" (XV, 119) [We support the pope whom we obey and wish to obey. Therefore we have no business being told otherwise and, if he (Cardinal de la Luna) were to participate in our treaties with your support, we would close all negotiation and return]. What the English are suggesting is that a negotiation can never occur from a neutral position—not simply because neutrality would be for them a submissive position, but more importantly because neutrality, for the French, is an exercise of domination that only hides behind its mask of neutrality. Moreover, neutrality constructed on the notions of domination and submission reveals itself to be a form of affect: "[Ce Richart de Bourdeaulx] est de cuer si françois qu'il ne le puet celler" (XVI, 135–136) [This Richard of Bordeaux has such a French heart that he cannot hide it]. Because of his love of the French, Richard II is ready to adopt a neutral position.[33] Richard II's neutral position is thus suspect because it issues not from an inherently neutral and just form of "neither/nor," but from an affective state. Neutrality is dangerous precisely because its affective power, one that makes Richard II sexually submissive, is dissimulated in the neutral language of the French. The English therefore reject the dissimulating language of

neutrality, an idea consistent with Froissart's portrayal of the English as wanting only to "entendre plainement" and "justement," that is, without double meanings and, more importantly, without affect.

Neutrality as affect explains the violence of neutrality, such as we saw with Fébus. The understanding of neutrality by the English as sexualized power-play only emphasizes neutrality as a desire to possess and to submit. Indeed, neutrality of the French attempts to submit the popes to its power, which the English also interpret as the submission of their king and of their nation. After an analysis of neutrality by Froissart—as violence, duplicity, power, affect—the sexualized characterization of neutrality, in which there is a dominant and a submissive partner, is the culmination of Froissart's thinking on neutrality as doubleness, and specifically duplicity of the French language. Following this final development, Froissart's analysis of neutrality as a double position, which enabled him throughout to construct by analogy his double position of a neutral author, turns back on itself. It is with the analysis of Froissart's authorial neutrality that we return to the episode of Liège, when "[t]out le pays se tourna neutre à la contemplation du roy de France" (XVI, 239) [the whole country became neutral in consideration of the king of France].

The end of the *Chroniques* with the episode of Liège corresponds to the larger narrative structure of the *Chroniques* which, between the narratives of deposition, one at the beginning (Edward II), the others at the end (Richard II, Benedict XIII, Wenceslas), achieves its moment of balance. What is unsettling and unsettled, however, is the abandonment of chronological order by Froissart. If Froissart indeed died ca. 1400, how then could he have written of the deposition of Benedict which occurred in 1409, at the Council of Pisa? And if Froissart was still alive in 1409, it is curious that he does not mention the deposition of the Roman pope Gregory XII, who was deposed at the same time as Benedict. Finally, Richard II's deposition takes place in 1399, Benedict's in 1409, and Wenceslas's in August 1400—the 1409 deposition of Benedict is placed between the 1399 deposition of Richard II and the 1400 deposition of Wenceslas. And the final episode of the *Chroniques*, the neutrality of Liège, is also chronologically reversed. The assumption of neutrality by Liège took place in April 1400, while Wenceslas was deposed in August 1400. This appears to disrupt the chronology of Froissart's narrative twice: first, when placing Benedict's deposition between the other two and, second, when Froissart returns to the neutrality of Liège, events that would have preceded both Benedict's and Wenceslas' depositions.

In his recent book *Froissart et le temps*, Michel Zink argues that the end of the *Chroniques* may seem abrupt, but its symmetry between the two depositions, Edward II's in the beginning and Richard II's at the end, is planned "pour clore son ouvrage sur un épisode analogue à celui qui l'a ouvert" [to end

his work with an episode analogous to the one with which he began].[34] Moreover, says Zink, Froissart deliberately adds the deposition of Wenceslas of Bohemia and of the pope in Avignon so as to emphasize the triple fall from power, thereby sending a strong message to the rulers.[35] Zink argues that suspending the narrative signifies the end of the *Chroniques*, but not the end of history.[36]

While I agree with Zink that the ending to the *Chroniques* is planned, and therefore not interrupted by the death of the historiographer, I also propose that the end of the *Chroniques* represents more than Froissart's statement to the readers that "[o]n n'en saura jamais plus" [we will never learn anything more about it].[37] First of all, the reference to Benedict's deposition has been interpreted incorrectly as the deposition of the Council of Pisa in 1409 and has therefore puzzled many a critic since the nineteenth century: "On ne sait trop à quels faits Froissart fait ici allusion" [It is hard to know to what Froissart alludes].[38] I believe that Froissart calls "deposition" the events of 1399–1400, that is, the siege of Avignon by the forces of Charles VI and the subsequent capitulation of Benedict whereby he submitted himself to the power and will of the king of France:

> La conclusion de ce pape Bénédict fut telle que . . . il vint à merchy parmy ce que aucuns cardinaulx en pryèrent, et se porta le traittié . . . que jamais du palais d'Avignon ne partiroit jusques à tant que unité seroit en l'Eglise. Et furent mises sus luy bonnes et espéciales gardes. (XVI, 131)
>
> [The end of this pope Benedict was such that he took pity on what some of his cardinals begged him to do, and the treaty was concluded that he would never leave the Avignon palace until unity was restored to the Church. And he was placed under good and special guard.]

Although this is not a true deposition, it does amount to the relinquishing of papal powers.[39] Because the French king, his most important source of support, no longer supports him, Benedict can be said to have been deposed from power: "Aussi fut le pape Bénédict, qui se tenoit en Avignon et que les Franchois avoient de grant voulenté mis sus et soustenu une grant espace, en ce temps déposé" (XVI, 239) [Pope Benedict, who resided in Avignon and whom the French willingly enthroned and supported for a long time, was deposed also at this time]. This is in line with the two other depositions and the Liège episode at the end of the *Chroniques*, all of which highlight the pacification of conflicts, the Franco-English war, and the papal schism. After the deposition and death of Richard II and the crowning of Henry IV, "[s]i fut . . . reprins en main [ce traittié] de la triève, et moult bien démené et tellement par l'accord de toutes les parties, que il fut ordonné et juré à tenir vingt-et-six ans à venir, et quatre que elles avoient duré, ce furent

trente ans" (XVI, 238) [the truce was reconsidered and so well negotiated with the agreement of all the parties, that it was ordered and sworn to be held for twenty-six years to come, and with four that had already gone by, the truce extended to thirty years]. After the deposition of Wenceslas, with whom Charles VI had come to the agreement of neutrality, Rupert, "ce nouveau roy d'Allemaigne" "prommist . . . à remettre l'Eglise à ung" (XVI, 239) [this new king of Germany promised . . . to restore unity to the Church]. Following these events, Froissart reports that the citizens of Liège refuse to either receive from or deliver any messages to the pope: "Ne retourne plus pour tels choses sur le peyne d'estre noyé; car autant de messages qui vendront icy pour telle matière, certes nous les jetterons en Mouse" (XVI, 240) [Do not return any more for these affairs under the penalty of drowning; as many messengers who will come here for this matter, certainly we will throw them into the river Meuse]. Neutrality has been achieved: "Tout le pays se tourna neutre à la contemplation du roy de France" (XVI, 239) [The whole country became neutral in consideration of the king of France]. Froissart can thus celebrate the success of political neutrality: it resolves divisions in the civic and religious bodies, eliminates conflict, and purges by imposing a silence. The "deposition" of Benedict allows Froissart to close his narrative, to fall silent. But it should be noted that Froissart chooses to call this a deposition: this is convenient because it makes neutrality look like a position that resolves and starts afresh. The silence of neutrality of Liège would be a position from which one could speak the truth and resolve the divisions of schism and war; the silence of neutrality would be free from the divisive and submissive power of language. By extension, Froissart's own fall into silence, in a moment of the achievement and celebration of neutrality, heals the divisions within the historical narrative itself. As Zink notes, the last word of the *Chroniques*, "Mouse," "est le nom de la rivière qui coule à quelque lieues de chez lui. Parti de Valenciennes sur l'Escaut, après avoir couru le monde et écrit tant de pages, il se retrouve à Chimay et met le point final sur la Meuse" [is the name of the river which flows a few miles from him. Having left Valenciennes, having traversed the world and written so many pages, he finds himself again in Chimay and concludes with the Meuse].[40]

What then is the position of Froissart the historiographer and what is the status of the historiography that he is writing? When Froissart reverses the chronology of the Liège episode, placing it at the conclusion of his narrative, he pays one last homage to the notion of neutrality by emphasizing the role that neutrality has played throughout his narrative. Yet, although meant to celebrate the prowess of neutrality, the chronological reversal highlights the reversals to which a neutral historical narrative is subject. If, as we saw, neutrality calls for murderous violence, then the papal schism,

with which the *Chroniques* end, embodies the tension and the conflict in Froissart's text, forcing Froissart to upset the chronology and misname the facts (of depositions) in order to praise neutrality. Moreover, the lyricism of silence, the beauty of "symétrie"[41] [symmetry], is compromised by the last sentence of the *Chroniques*, in which erupts, for one last time, the murderous violence of neutrality: "Ne retourne plus pour tels choses sur le peyne d'estre noyé; car autant de messages qui vendront icy pour telle matière, certes nous les jetterons en Mouse." Neutrality is kept with the refusal to hear and to speak, and it can be maintained only with the threat of murder which would constitute the final and ultimate silencing. Since the French language, which proposes neutrality and in which the *Chroniques* are written, cannot be disassociated from power, it forecloses all possibility of neutrality, and it reveals itself as inherently duplicitous. Abandoning language, the narrative breaks off abruptly into silence. If the achievement of neutrality of Liège, its silence, is the position from which to resolve the divisions of schism and war, if the silence of neutrality is indeed free from the divisive and submissive power of language, then the historiographer, at the moment of the achievement of a thematic and structural balance of his work, at the moment of the celebration of neutrality, cannot speak again. It is the only way for Froissart to maintain and celebrate his own neutrality, to escape the violence of neutrality; he can no longer deliver or receive any new messages. Froissart's silent neutrality will not produce judgment in the matters of papal schism, or for that matter in the deposition of Richard II or Wenceslas. To speak again, to dispense justice and judgment would mean assuming a master position and, as we saw, neutrality in the name of justice only leads again into violence: "le plus droitturier" is "le plus criminel [cruel] seigneur." Neutral language dominates and submits. The achievement of neutrality silences the messenger—the translator of conflict—which is Froissart's position par excellence. Indeed, Froissart's voice is drowned in the river Meuse, the last word of the *Chroniques*, which flows by his native town.

If language dissimulates power and affect under neutrality, then adopting the position of neutrality in order to write a historiography ultimately affects the ability to speak. Therefore, the final silence of neutrality can be read as a desire to negate the power of language and the violence of neutrality. The fall into silence affirms that it is impossible to speak frankly in the neutral mode without participating in the violence of the conflict. Neutrality cannot be satisfied in language. Froissart's achievement, then, does not lie merely in providing a neutral translation of the war, but rather in problematizing the very possibility of neutral authorship. The tension of the schism and the tension of the conflict of the Hundred Years' War remain open in the form of an abrupt, suspended ending—the only end possible for the neutral historiographer.

Notes

I wish to thank Virginie Greene for her invaluable input and inspiration.

1. All references, unless otherwise noted, are to: *Œuvres de Froissart: Chroniques*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove (Bruxelles, 1867–1877; repr. Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1967). All translations are mine.
2. Most recently, Michel Zink posed this question: "Les *Chroniques* de Froissart s'achèvent avec les événements de l'année 1400. S'achèvent ou s'interrompent?" [Froissart's *Chroniques* end with the events of the year 1400. Do they end or are they interrupted?]. *Froissart et le temps* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1998), p. 89.
3. Bernard Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris: Aubier Montaigne, 1980), pp. 332–336.
4. See Peter Ainsworth, *Jean Froissart and the Fabric of History. Truth, Myth and Fiction in the Chroniques* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), pp. 123 and 303; Kevin Brownlee, "Mimesis, Autorité, et Meurtre dans le *Voyage en Béarn* de Jean Froissart" in *Translatio Studii*, ed. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Kevin Brownlee, Mary B. Speer, Lory J. Walters (Amsterdam, Atlanta: Rodopi, 2000), p. 82 [65–85]; Peter Dembowski, *Jean Froissart and his Méliador. Context, Craft, and Sense* (Lexington, KY: French Forum Publishers, 1983), pp. 16 and 44; Zrinka Stahuljak, "Jean Froissart's *Chroniques*: *Translatio* and the Impossible Apprenticeship of Neutrality," in *The Politics of Translation in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Luise von Flotow and Daniel Russell (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2001); Michel Zink, *Froissart et le temps*, pp. 96 and 100.
5. "Douquel costet qu'il soit" (1st redaction, II, 2) ["from whichever side he may be"].
6. In Lettenhove, the first redaction corresponds to the Amiens MS, the second and the third redaction correspond to MSS. A and B of *Chroniques de Jean Froissart*, ed. Léon Mirot, Société de l'histoire de France (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1931), tome 12 (henceforth abbreviated as SHF), and the fourth redaction corresponds to the Rome MS edited in *Chroniques. Début du premier livre. Manuscrit de Rome*, ed. George T. Diller (Genève: Droz, 1972).
7. See 2nd redaction, II, 5.
8. See the first, second, and third redactions of the prologue for Froissart's statement on the passage from his written source to oral testimonies. Compare to the fourth redaction where Froissart makes no mention of Jean le Bel's *Chronique*.
9. Brownlee, "Mimesis, Autorité, et Meurtre," p. 69.
10. "[Les] discours collectifs . . . constituent un exposé passionné et neutre . . . Neutre, puisqu'ils évitent à Froissart de prendre parti en son nom propre" [Collective speeches make for a passionate and neutral account. Neutral, since Froissart then does not have to choose sides in his own name] Zink, *Froissart et le temps*, p. 100.
11. For an analysis of Froissart's transnational point of view, see Stahuljak, "Jean Froissart's *Chroniques*."

12. Pierre Tucoo-Chala, *La Vicomté de Béarn et le problème de sa souveraineté des origines à 1620* (Bordeaux: Bière Imprimeur, 1961).
13. "Cruel" is a manuscript variant given by Lettenhove.
14. Fébus actively promoted the mythology of Phoebus, the sun god.
15. Stahuljak, "Jean Froissart's *Chroniques.*"
16. Ainsworth, *Jean Froissart and the Fabric of History*, p. 161.
17. Ainsworth, *Jean Froissart and the Fabric of History*, p. 161.
18. Brownlee, "Mimésis, Autorité, et Meurtre," p. 81.
19. Brownlee, "Mimésis, Autorité, et Meurtre," p. 82. Fébus accidentally strikes the vein on the throat of young Gaston with "une petit long coutelet dont il appareilloit ses ongles et nettoioit" (XI, 99) [with a small long knife with which he cut and cleaned his nails]. But it was the king of Navarre, Fébus' brother-in-law, who gave the poison to young Gaston telling him that the powder could cure any sickness of his father: "Son père l'occist voirement, mais le roy de Navarre luy donna le coup de la mort" (XI, 100) [His father really killed him, but the king of Navarre struck him with death].
20. Pierre Tucoo-Chala, "Froissart dans le Midi Pyrénéen," in *Froissart: Historian*, ed, J. J. N. Palmer (Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 1981), p. 127 [118–131].
21. I do not agree with Ainsworth that Fébus is exonerated because he would not be capable of such violence, but rather I believe Froissart justifies his acts precisely because Fébus is capable of violence which protects his neutrality.
22. Despite Froissart's rendition of the events, the French position on Lourdes is even clearer when we learn that Gaston de Foix became the vassal of the king of France in 1375, although the homage did not take place until 1390 in Mazères. It was reaffirmed by Matthieu de Foix, the successor to Gaston, in 1392.
23. "L'iretaige du roy d'Engleterre . . . ne povoit vendre ne donner ne alouer que il ne fust traitres, laquelle chose il ne voloit pas estre, mais loyal envers son naturel seigneur" (SHF XII, 58) [Pierre-Arnaut could not sell nor give nor rent the inheritance of the king of England without becoming a traitor, which he did not want to be, but he wanted to be loyal to his natural lord]. "Il le navra moult villainement en cinq lieux" (XI, 70) [He badly injured him in five places].
24. In Lettenhove: "Ho! Ho! Faulx traittre, as-tu dis que non? Par ceste teste, tu ne l'as pas dit pour néant" (XI, 70) [Ho, ho, false traitor, have you said 'no'? By my life, you did not say it for nought].
25. Neutrality is thus linked to the just acquisition of the lands, as well as the increase in wealth of the count of Foix, which dazzled Froissart.
26. This attempt at neutralizing violence has been read by Sylvia Huot as an eruption of somnambulism in Froissart's work: "It is in and through other figures that we now locate deviant violence, irrationality, and the eruption of a hallucinatory world in which repressed fears and fantasies are all too real. . . . [I]t remains that Froissart simultaneously acknowledges and denies Gaston's traumatic potency, the transgressive passion that he embodies. In so doing he also simultaneously incriminates and exculpates himself as chronicler . . ." "Unruly Bodies, Unspeakable Acts: Pierre de Béarn, Camel de Camois, and

Actaeon in the Writings of Jean Froissart," *Exemplaria* 14.1 (2002): 98 [79–98].

27. As Chantal de Saulnier has shown, Fébus excessively loved hunting and was fascinated by the excess of violence in the hunt. See her article "Gaston Fébus: De la violence contrôlée à la folie meutrière," in *La Violence dans le monde médiéval* (Aix: Centre Universitaire d'Etudes et de Recherches Médiévales d'Aix, 1994): 491 [487–498]. Most interesting, Fébus sought in hunting a form of equal and just, that is neutralized, relationship of force: "Pour plaire à Fébus, cette violence doit être équitablement répartie entre les deux adversaires et surtout ne pas être gratuite" [In order for Fébus to like this violence, it has to be equally divided between two adversaries and it certainly should not be deliberate] (ibid., 492).
28. This is particularly important because Froissart was from Hainaut, which switched allegiance to France in 1346. Froissart says in Book III, "ung escuier du conte, qui s'appelloit Ernaulton du Pin, lequel moult liement me rechupt pour cause de ce que j'estoie François" (XI, 84) [an esquire of the count, whose name was Ernauton de Pau, who received me gladly because I was French]. Froissart also praises the fact that Fébus spoke to him "non pas en son gascon, mais en bon et beau franchois" (XI, 85) [not in his Gascon language, but in good and beautiful French].
29. This view of language is confirmed when Henry IV, at his crowning, addresses the people in English and is met with overwhelming approval; see Lettenhove, notes, p. 357.
30. Froissart explicitly compares the accusations of Richard II's effeminacy with Edward II's homosexuality, which was the cause of his deposition and death: "[E]t en la fin les Londriens, quant ils veirent que ce roy Edouard se mésusoit et estoit tout assoté sur messire Hues le Despensier, ils y pourveirent, car ils mandèrent à la royne Ysabel que s'elle povoit tant faire que elle euist trois cens armures de fer, elle venist en Angleterre et . . . [ils] la . . . metteroient en possession du royaulme d'Angleterre" (XVI, 158) [And in the end, the Londoners, when they saw that this king Edward was abused in his power and was besotted with sire Hugh the Dispenser, they took care of it. They sent a message to Queen Isabelle that if she could assemble a force of 300 armored knights and come to England, they would give her the possession of the kingdom of England]. Richard II is first compared to Edward II in XVI, 152.
31. Froissart does use "soubmettre de la papalité" (XVI, 118) and "desmett[re] du nom de la papalité" (XVI, 118). See also XVI, 83–89; XVI, 116–125.
32. See E. Delaruelle, E.-R. Labande and P. Ourliac, *L'Eglise au temps du Grand Schisme et de la crise conciliaire, (1378–1449)* Histoire de l'Eglise 14 ([Paris]: Bloud & Gay, 1962) for the history of this method. See also Froissart, XVI, 134–135.
33. The insinuation is also that Bordeaux, Richard II's place of birth, predisposes him to the French. It also introduces the question of the legitimacy of Richard II's birth, see XVI, 199–201, and above XVI, 159–160. Likewise, had Pierre-Arnaut accepted to submit to Fébus's command for the love of

"lignage," he would have been seen to occupy the submissive position from affect.

34. Zink, *Froissart et le temps*, p. 90.
35. Zink, *Froissart et le temps*, p. 110.
36. Zink, *Froissart et le temps*, p. 110.
37. Zink, *Froissart et le temps*, p. 104.
38. Lettenhove, XVI, 410. Zink, for example, situates it in 1408 (*Froissart et le temps*, p. 110).
39. Benedict actually submitted to the duke of Orleans. However, in a few years, he regained his powers; see Delaruelle, Labande and Ourliac, *L'Eglise au temps du Grand Schisme*.
40. Zink, *Froissart et le temps*, p. 110.
41. Zink, *Froissart et le temps*, p. 105.

CHAPTER 8

PORTRAITS OF AUTHORS AT THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES: TOMBS IN MAJESTY AND CARNIVALESQUE EPITAPHS

Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet

Translation: *Darla Gervais*

A chosen poet is introduced at the beginning of the manuscripts in which the complete works of Guillaume de Machaut are collected, a chosen poet referred to by his name, "Guillaume." The forces naming the poet are two allegorical powers, Nature and Love, who distinguish him as a poet "fourmé a part" [created apart].[1] A chosen poetess, as a woman, the lowest among the low, receives the grace of an apparition. Three ladies, Reason, Righteousness, and Justice, on the model of the annunciation to the Virgin, make known to her that she will write the *Livre de la Cité des Dames*.[2] These ladies also urge her to continue her work on *Le Livre des Trois Vertus*.[3] The poetess is referred to by the family ties linking her to these powers, not by her proper name (notice the subtle difference with Guillaume de Machaut), but by a relationship: "Fille chere" [Dear Daughter].[4] This is how the first lady addresses Christine.

Rhetoric in the Middle Ages set up a way of entering into a text. There are loci one must pass through at the beginning of a work, the *exordium topoï*.[5] Loci, of course, but also characters to place in their relationship one to another: the author, the patron, the person to whom the book is dedicated, and the reader. This particular configuration makes up what might be called the writing stage. This stage may vary and the plays played upon it be directed in different ways. Yet in what way does the introduction of a chosen poet modify the whole situation?

From "For Whom Is It Written?" to "Why Is It Written?"

I begin looking at the transformation of the question "for whom is it written?" into a more existential question, "why is it written?" by examining the relationship between the author and his patron. There are three possible situations. The patron is a historical character, referred to in the text; in this case, the author introduces himself as a *translator*. He says that he is turning one book (given by the patron) into another, his own, and putting one language, Latin, into another, the vernacular. He presents himself as a craftsman, investing in his work "sa peine et son entention" [his effort and his diligence]. This stance may be recognized as that taken by Chrétien de Troyes at the beginning of several of his romances. Thus, at the beginning of the *Chevalier de la Charrette*, when he speaks to the countess of Champagne: "Mes tant dirai ge que mialz oevre / Ses comandemans an ceste oevre / Que sans ne painne que g'i mete" (21–23) [I shall say only that her command is more important in this undertaking than any thought or effort I may expend],[6] or at the beginning of the *Conte du Graal*: "Ce est li contes do greal / Don li cuens li bailla lo livre" (64–65) [it is the Story of the Grail, / whose book was given him by the count].[7] The patron is here the count Philip of Alsace.

In the second configuration, authority comes from an allegorical power, most often Love in lyric poetry, in accordance with the time-honored expression, "Amour me semont de chanter" [Love calls me to sing]. Singing appears as natural. The poet sings as the bird sings. It is interesting to observe the transformation of the expression during the fourteenth century. One goes from singing to writing. Thus, one can read in *L'orloge amoureux* by Jean Froissart, for example: "Amours / . . . m'ordonne / Et me semont de mon estat trettier" (37–39) [Love / . . . orders me / And calls me to speak of my state].[8] The function of the poet is thus modified. By order of Love, he becomes the secretary of his own heart. He writes down, he transcribes. The loveliest formulation in its complexity is perhaps to be found in Dante's *Purgatorio*:

> I' mi son un che, quando
> Amor mi spira, noto, e a quel modo
> ch'e' ditta dentro vo significando (canto XXIV, 52–54)
>
> [I am one who, when Love inspires me, take note and, as he dictates deep within me, so I set it forth.][9]

The debate surrounding the translation of *noto* is well known; André Pézard chooses to translate it as "chanter" [to sing], and Jacqueline Risset as "noter" [to take down]: "Je suis homme qui note, quand Amour me souffle, et comme il dicte au cœur, je vais signifiant" [I am a man who takes down, when Love inspires me, and as he dictates to my heart, so I signify].[10]

In one of her rondeaux, Christine de Pizan maintains the reference to the bird as a sign of both singing and the present instant; nonetheless, it is no longer time to sing but to make (*faire*):

> Ce rondellet ay fait presentement,
> Car survenu m'en est le sentement,
> De vraie amour, qui mon cuer tout enflamme,
> Est tout venu le doulz enortement
> Qui esjoïst mon cuer trop grandement,
> Dont suis plus gay que oiselet sus la rame,
> Tout en pensant a la beauté ma dame (Rondeau 19)[11]
>
> [I have just made this rondelet, / Because the feeling has come upon me, / From true love, which inflames my heart completely, / came the sweet exhortation / that rejoices my heart greatly, / And because of which I am more joyful than a bird on its branch, / While at the same time I think of my Lady's beauty].

Above all, Love is no longer the only power giving the order to write. The chosen poet takes dictation from an allegorical power that gives him or her access to the spheres of knowledge. In this case, the poet transcribes scenes which he or she was given to see. This is Christine de Pizan's stance in *Le Livre de la Mutacion de Fortune* in which she converts pictures, paintings from the "salle de Fortune," into narrative.[12]

The third situation is that in which the poet gives himself or herself the order to write. Guillaume de Machaut puts it thus at the beginning of the *Voir Dit*:

> Si que parfondement pensoie
> Par quel maniere je feroie
> Aucune chose de nouvel
> Pour tenir mon cuer en revel (57–60)
>
> [And then I gave deep thought / To how I might compose / Some kind of new work / That would keep my spirits high.][13]

And Martin Le Franc remarks in his prologue to the *Champion des Dames* "je retiroye mes sens des choses foraines" [I withdrew my senses from external things].[14] The expression is similar to that of Christine de Pizan in *L'Advision Christine*: "Adonc cloy mes portes, c'est assavoir mes sens, que plus ne fussent tant vagues aux choses foraines" [I closed those gates that are the senses, which no longer wandered amongst external things].[15] Martin continues thus: "et selon la doctrine de Perse en moy meismes me queroye" [and following the doctrine of Persius I searched within myself].[16] Guillaume de Machaut names the forces necessary for poetic composition: "sans,"

"matiere," and "sentement" (62) [theme, material, and inspiration].[17] While *sens* and *matiere* are terms appearing in prologues as early as the twelfth century, this is not the case for *sentement*. How might this expression be understood when it is appearing for the first time in thinking on love-literature in the thirteenth century and becoming overwhelmingly important in poetic theory in the fourteenth century? The *Roman de la Poire*, in vocabulary directly echoing that of Chrétien de Troyes in his prologues, says the following:

> Molt pert son travail et sa peine,
> Se il ne sent ou sentu a
> Icelui mal qu'il i metra
> Si com Amors me fist sentir. (352–356)[18]
>
> [He wastes much of his work and effort / Who does not feel or has not felt / Such great pain as he will put into it, / Just like Love has made me feel].

From the *Remede de Fortune* to the *Livre du Voir Dit*, Guillaume de Machaut states the presiding principle: "Car qui de sentement ne fait / Son dit et son chant contrefait" (405–406) [For he who does not create from feeling / feigns both his poem and his song].[19] But *sentement* is not to be understood within a system of opposition of the mind and heart. Many examples demonstrate the intellectual dimension this word can take. Christine de Pizan says of her project to write about Fortune: "Fort seroit que j'en parlasse / Proprement presentement, / A si petit sentement, / Comme j'ay" (22–25) [It would be difficult for me to speak / properly now of these things, / with the small understanding / that I possess].[20] She points out endlessly her "sentement trop leger" (6610) [very slight understanding],[21] her "sentement" which is not "En sens fondé" (36–37) [for I lack perceptiveness / Of profound meaning],[22] "son engin et sentement" [intelligence and inclination].[23] The word *sentement* is often paired with the word *entendement*. Thus says Guillaume de Machaut in his general prologue:

> Einsois y doy mon sentement
> Mettre et tout mon entendement,
> Cuer, corps, pooir et quanque j'ay. (5: 21–23)[24]
>
> [Thus must I put into it all of my feeling, / All of my understanding, / Heart, body, power and all that I have].

The real opposition is between *sentement* and fiction, between *sentement* and what Christine de Pizan will call *controuvement*:

> De meschief, d'anui, de peine,
> Je fais dis communement,

Car selon mon sentement
Sont, et de chose certaine;

Mais quant d'autrui voulenté
Faire dis me vueil chargier,
De cuer mal entalenté
Les me fault si loings cerchier,

Et de pensée foraine;
Pour ce y metz je longuement:
C'est un droit controuvement. (Virelay 15: 1–11)[25]

[Of unhappiness, pain and sadness, / I commonly make poetry, / For these from my own feeling / Come, and are things of which I am certain; / But when following another's will / I wish to take on writing poems, / Because my heart is so ill-disposed, / I have to search far for them, / And in wandering thoughts; / For that reason, I take such a long time: / They are truly an invention].

Sentement is rooted in what has been felt, in the truth of experience and thought, but it is equally rooted in inner decision. *Sentement* is thus also related to will. It is what makes one write, with the help of God in some cases. At the end of the prologue to his *Roman de Mélusine*, and when he is about to begin telling the story of the castle of Lusignan, Coudrette writes: "Maiz qu'il plaise au doulz roy de gloire / De m'en donner le sentement / Sans lequel on ne fait nayent" (126–128) [Provided it please the sweet King of Glory / To give me inspiration for it; / For without this, nothing is done].[26]

The presence of *sentement* in poetic theory thus complicates the relationship with the patron, when he or she is different from the author. How is one to respond to a commission to compose on the subject of love if one is not oneself in love, but still committed to answering to the ethic of the writing of *sentement*? Furthermore, why would one wish to follow this ethic? It is because this ethic is what sets one apart as an author, according to one of the etymologies of the word *author* during the period, relating it to the word *authentic*. The answer can be summarized in two words: will and memory. In order to write about love, one must be in love or must have been in love. In *La Fontaine amoureuse*, Guillaume de Machaut sings of the prince's loves, but reminds the reader that he himself is in love:

Je respondi que non feroie
Et que si amoureus estoie
Que la fonteinne ne son mestre
Ne porroient d'amours plus mettre
En mon cuer qu'il i en avoit . . . (1425–1429)[27]

> [I answered that I would not do it / And that I was so much in love / That neither the fountain nor its master / Would be capable to add / More love in my heart].

Christine de Pizan does likewise. Once her husband has died, she writes about an experience of love she remembers, accepting the commission voluntarily. The envoy of a ballade serving as a prologue to her collection of *Cent Ballades d'Amant et de Dame* demonstrates this fact:

> Prince, bien voy qu'il se vauldroit mieux taire
> Que ne parler a gré voy cy comment
> Payer m'en fault, d'amende volontaire,
> Cent balades d'amoureux sentement. (25–28)
>
> [Prince, I see well that it would be better to be silent / than to speak unwillingly. Here is how / I must pay a voluntary fine: / one hundred ballads of amorous feelings].[28]

One can then write "d'autrui sentement" [about others' feelings].[29] The writer, even when he or she is commissioned, is no longer a servant or a minstrel, but is instead an author. He or she freely submits to order.

What difference does this new attitude make? It modifies both the conditions of writing and its ends. The poet often presents himself or herself writing as if cut off from the world, far from the "choses foraines" [external things] and seeking the solitude that is, according to the words of Christine de Pizan, "une solitude volumtaire" (23635) [voluntary solitude].[30] Since writing is no longer necessarily a response to a commission, the writer must find people to whom he or she can dedicate his or her book; hence Christine's very striking strategy of multiple dedications. Writing becomes a personal struggle to defend one's ideas and gain acknowledgment for one's work. The case of Martin Le Franc and his *Champion des Dames* is a perfect example of this. The metaphor of the battle and struggle for truth and glory is already present in the prologue:

> et ne souffist pas a engin orguilleux lire les fais et les livres des aultres se quelque fois a la plume il n'espreuve sa force, comme a tout vaillant homme d'armes veant la gloire de cil qui a bien combatu es lices se esboulissent les vaines et tressault le cueur ou a pareil ou a greigneur honneur acquerir, veritablement je deliberoye de mettre en avant mes rimes et mes vers, prenant confort en saint Jerosme qui, nonobstant la haulteur de sa sapience et l'aournement et doulceur de son divin langage, fust en ses plus grandes euvres des mesdisans persecuté.[31]
>
> [and it is not enough for a proud intellect to read the deeds and books of others if he doesn't test his own force by his pen, just like any valiant warrior, whose

> veins boil and heart skips out of the desire to gain as great or greater honor upon seeing the glory of one who has fought well in a tournament, I truly decided to put forward my rhymes and my verses, taking comfort in Saint Jerome, who notwithstanding the height of his knowledge and the beauty and sweetness of his divine language, was persecuted by slanderers even in his greatest works].

The models are inspiring. On one hand the warrior, on the other, the author par excellence, the one who had produced that text above all others, the vulgate. Martin thus sends his *Champion des Dames* to the duke of Burgundy. The return of the book is gripping: "[c]repy en feulletz plus de vingt, / De grifs et de couteaux navré" (4: 29–30) [of which more than twenty pages were crumpled, / and which was damaged by scratches and knife-cuts]; the book addresses a lament to "maistre Martin Le Franc son acteur" [master Martin Le Franc its author].[32] A new and more intimate relationship has grown up between an author writing in French and his book, now his son.[33] Martin uses this dialogue with his book to explain the originality of his work and of his function. His activity is no longer comparable to that of other producers (peasants, merchants) or to that of warriors. All of these receive the reward for their work immediately. He, instead, has to count on the passing of time and on the recognition of the generations to come. Thus speaks the poet to his book: "Car moy mis en terre, les vers / Et les feulles te flouriront" (43: 339–340) [For once I myself am put into the ground, the *vers* [greenery/verses/worms] / And the leaves will flourish upon you]. There is a complex play at work here surrounding the word *vers*, at the same time green branches but also versification struggling against the rotting of the corpse represented by worms. The author begins to exist once he has disappeared and survives in his work. It is this very paradox I wish to explore, that is, the second aspect of the constitution of an authorial figure, his establishment as an authority by posterity, by the very sound of the name.

Tombs in Majesty

The first indication is the appearance of the author's *planctus*. Funereal laments in poetry until the fourteenth century generally had as their subject a nobleman, a heroic warrior, or a great lord. There is perhaps one exception to be found in provençal in the *planh* [complaint or lament] Giraut de Bornelh wrote for Raimbaut d'Orange. However, Raimbaut was at the same time prince and poet. With his double ballade deploring the death of his master Guillaume de Machaut, "le noble rethorique," [the noble poet] Eustache Deschamps signs the birth certificate of a genre and gives the first sign of recognition of a poet writing in French.[34] A century will go by before this genre really blossoms. In 1466, Simon Gréban writes his

Complaincte de la mort de maistre Jacques Milet qui composa la Destruction de Troye;[35] in 1476, Jean Robertet composes *La Complaincte de la mort de maistre George Chastellain*.[36] The author has acceded to a status, has earned a name that, like that of a nobleman, brings recognition. Jean Molinet reports that at the chapter of the Toison d'or, held at Valenciennes on May 2, 1473, George Chastelain was made "chevalier ès lettres" by Charles the Bold for "la subtilité de son art" [subtlety of his art].[37]

The Writers' Cemetery

Another sign of the writer's accession to authority is the poetic cemetery. The best example of this is in the *Livre du Cuer d'amours espris* by René d'Anjou. In René's cemetery, it is not just unhappy and well-known lovers who are celebrated, but also poets, masters of the rhetoric and theory of love, masters of love writing. According to René d'Anjou, this "grant et plantureux" [great and flourishing] cemetery might also pass as a library. There are six graves "non pas loign des autres mais comme mises a part et environnees de mur pour plus grant excellence et espicialité, lesquelles estoient en nombre jucques a six et non plus" [not far from the others but as if set apart and surrounded by a wall because of the greatest excellence and distinction of these, of which there were six and no more].[38] They are those of Ovid, Guillaume de Machaut, Boccacio, Jean de Meun, Petrarch, and Alain Chartier. This is indeed a prestigious anthology and a kind of poetic Parnassus; through its epitaphs it is also a first draft of what will become the lives of the artists genre, and will be made illustrious by Georgio Vasari's lives of painters.[39] The poetic cemetery is a spatial representation of lists of famous writers that first makes its appearance in Gilles Li Muisis's *Méditations* in the middle of the fourteenth century.[40] One witnesses here the constitution of a canon that truly takes shape in the *Arts de seconde rhétorique*. This marks the birth in literary history of a genealogical way of thinking about filiation and succession. Thus, at the beginning of the *Règles de la seconde rhétorique*:

> Et tout premierement maistre Guillaume de Saint Amour, lequel ou parvis de Paris fist destruire Heresie, Ypocrisie et Papelardie . . . Et fut le premier qui traitta de la nouvelle science.[41]
>
> [And first comes master Guillaume de Saint Amour, who in the cathedral square in Paris destroyed Heresy, Hypocrisy and Pope-Holiness . . .[42] And he was the first to write about the new science].

This is the figure of the inventor: "cil qui premier trouva" [the one who found first].

> Aprèz ycellui vint maistre Guillaume de Lorris, lequel commencha le Rommant de la Rose . . .
> Aprèz vint maistre Jehan de Meun, lequel parfist ycellui Rommant de la Rose . . . .[43]
>
> [After him came master Guillaume de Lorris, who began the Romance of the Rose . . .
>
> After came master Jean de Meun, who achieved and perfected the said Romance of the Rose . . .].

Then comes a long list including brief presentations and judgements of the works, ending with:

> Aprèz sont de present Colinet l'Alexis, Hannequin le Fevre, . . . et pluseurs aultres, qui enssivent les regles telles que nous mettrons en nostre traitié.[44]
>
> [Then presently there are Colinet l'Alexis, Hannequin le Fevre, . . . and several others, who follow the rules in the way we will write them down in this treatise].

These two figures are relatively unknown. Even though such lists are made so that those mentioned last participate in the glory of the ancestors, the method does not always work. There is a similar list of authors with a few lengthy commentaries suggesting authentic critiques in the *Champion des Dames* de Martin Le Franc. Thus Martin analyzes in detail the *Jugement du Roi de Bohême* by Guillaume de Machaut and the conflicting opinions about women presented in the work. He devotes an important section to Christine de Pizan introduced by the following rubric:

> Le champion en reprenant la fetardise ou muableté de l'engin franczois, parle de dame Cristine, dont la renommée est tres fresche et tres clere.[45]
>
> [The champion, criticizing the laziness and instability of the French disposition, speaks of Lady Christine, whose reputation is so bright and clear].

The models thus become fixed: the *Roman de la Rose* for the fourteenth century, Alain Chartier for the fifteenth. In the sixteenth century, the latter is considered to be the father of French eloquence, as Pierre Fabri and Jean Bouchet testify, and in the same fashion Marot makes Villon the father of French poetry. This is genealogical thinking opening the way for literary history.

In the fifteenth century the first literary quarrels about French works strengthen the figure of the author. The quarrel of the *Roman de la Rose*, surrounding the figure of Jean de Meun and the interpretation of the romance, took place between Christine de Pizan and Jean Gerson on the

one hand, and the brothers Col and Jean de Montreuil on the other. They debated the relationship between poetic and ethical theory, the issue of literalness, and swearwords. Particularly interesting is the way Jean de Meun's defenders advocate the distinction between an author and his characters. Pierre Col proclaims that words put into the mouth of the "Jaloux" ought not be attributed to Jean de Meun:

> et dy que maistre Jehan de Meung en son livre introduisy personnaiges, et fait chascun personnaige parler selonc qui luy appartient: c'est assavoir le Jaloux comme jaloux, la Vielle come la Vielle, et pareillement des autres. Et est trop mal pris de dire que l'aucteur tiengne les maulx estre en fame que le Jalous en faisant son personnaige, propose.
>
> [and I say that in his book Master Jean de Meun introduces personages, and he has each personage speak according to its nature, which is to say the Jealous Man jealously, the Old Woman as an old woman, and likewise for the others. And it would be ill-taken to say that the author holds to really be in women those evils that the Jealous Man, playing his role, proposes].[46]

This line of argument can also be found in Martin le Franc's preface to the *Champion des Dames*: "se en ceste livre est trouvee parolle desplaisante ou trop legiere ou trop aigre ou trop obscure, on doit considerer la nature du personnage qui parle" [if in this book one finds a word which is unpleasant or too flippant or too harsh or too obscure, one must consider the nature of the character who is speaking].[47] The author is responsible for his work: he must account for it.

Other quarrels fester. When profane and sacred poetry are opposed, Boccacio defends the former in his *De Genealogia Deorum*. Yet another quarrel opposes the partisans of clarity to those holding out for obscurity in literature. In a letter written by Giovanni Moccia, we learn that in the Avignon circle Laurent de Premierfait, the French translator of Boccacio, was a partisan of obscurity, whereas Moccia as well as Muret defended *claritas*.[48] Petrarch, finally, unleashed a storm of controversy with the following phrase from the *Seniles*: "Oratores et poetae extra Italiam non quaerentur" [Orators and poets are not be found outside of Italy].[49] According to him, there was a single exception: Philippe de Vitry. In a letter from Padua in February 1350, Petrarch writes to the latter, saying that he is: "poeta nunc unicus galliarum" [now the sole French poet].[50]

The idea of a national poetry, of a poet rooted in his or her own native soil begins to appear. Let us recall the incipit to Dante's *Divine Comedy*: "Incipit comoedia Dantis Alagherii florentini natione non moribus" [Here begins the Comedy of Dante Alighieri, florentine by nation but not by

morals]. Eustache Deschamps makes a list of the poets of Champagne:

> Dont cinq d'iceulx met en figure:
> Le Mangeur, qui par tresgrant cure
> Voult Escolastique traictier,
> Saincte More Ovide esclairier,
> Vittry, Machault de haulte emprise, . . .
>
> Princes, le cinq fait a prisier,
> Clamenges, et auctorisier,
> Que rethorique loe et prise
> Et tuit ly poete estrangier;
> Cilz est de Langres tresorier (ballade 1474: 24–28 and 31–35)[51]
>
> [Then five of these I will show here: / Le Mangeur, who with great care / wishes to write about scholasticism, / Sainte-More who wants to explain Ovid, / Vitry, Machaut who has the greatest accomplishments, . . . / Prince, we ought to praise the fifth, / Clamanges, and to honor him / whom rhetoric praises and prizes / as do all foreign poets; / he is the treasurer of Langres].

Villon, in a play on his name, introduces himself as a Parisian:

> Je suis François, dont il me poise,
> Né de Paris emprès Pontoise
>
> [I am François which is my cross
> Born in Paris near Pontoise].[52]

The author begins to exist by name; whether it is engraved in marble or in the memory of his successors, it lasts. It is also interesting to note the development during this period of literary genres based on the phenomenon of the signature. I am thinking here of the *Testaments*, which exist only as an utterance of the "I" and which are based on the sketching out of a portrait or a *persona*.[53] It is of course possible for a testament to be satirical or a portrait to be grotesque, but even if inspiration is turned into expiration, the gesture itself remains, setting an individual apart and giving him a voice to speak of heritage. From the tombs in majesty of René d'Anjou to the carnavalesque tomb of François Villon, the figure of the *grand écrivain* [great writer] has come to exist for posterity under its two appearances of exaltation or derision.

One last historical jest remains to be examined. As early as 1480, François Villon appears as a character in a comic text, the *Repue franche*, on an equal footing with Pathelin in the call to a parodic sermon:

> Venez y d'amont et d'aval,
> Les hoirs de deffung Pathelin

Qui savés jargon jobelin,
Cappitaine du pont Abailon,
Tous les subgetz François Villon,
Soiés, ad ce coup, resveillés. (16–21)[54]

[Come from upstream and down, / you heirs of the late Pathelin / who speak the tongue of rogues, / Captain of the Pont à Billon,[55] / all subjects of François Villon, / by this stroke be awakened].

Is this transformation of the figure of the author into a mythical character a coronation? Between the patron and the reader, has the author now found his place?

Notes

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3. Christine de Pizan, *Le Livre des Trois Vertus*, ed. Charity Cannon Willard and Eric Hicks (Paris: Champion, 1989).
4. *Le Livre de la Cité des Dames*, p. 46.
5. See: Ernst Robert Curtius, "Topique de l'exorde," *La littérature européenne et le Moyen Age latin*, trans. Jean Bréjoux (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1956), pp. 106–110. In English: "Topics of the exordium," *European Literature and the Latin Middle-Ages*, trans. Willard R. Trask (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), pp. 85–89.
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7. Chrétien de Troyes, *Le Conte du Graal*, ed. Charles Méla (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1990). English translation: Chrétien de Troyes, *The Story of the Grail (Li contes del Graal or Perceval)*, ed. Rupert T. Pickens, trans. William W. Kibler (New York: Garland, 1990), p. 5.
8. Jean Froissart, *L'Orloge amoureux*, ed. Peter F. Dembowski (Geneva: Droz, 1986).
9. Dante, *Purgatorio*, trans. Robert and Jean Hollander (New York: Doubleday, 2003). This is the Dante Project translation (Copyright 1997–1998, The Trustees of Princeton University and Professor Robert Hollander). Dorothy

Sayers translates *noto* as "sing" in *The Divine Comedy*, trans. Dorothy Sayers (New York: Basic Books, 1962), p. 255. (Translator's note).

10. Dante, *Œuvres complètes*, trans. and ed. André Pézard (Paris: Gallimard/Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1965), p. 1289. Dante, *La Divine Comédie. Le Purgatoire*, trans. Jacqueline Risset (Paris: Flammarion, 1988).
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12. Christine de Pizan, *Le Livre de la Mutacion de Fortune*, ed. Suzanne Solente, SATF, 4 vols. (Paris: Picard, 1959–1966). See our study: "D'une mise en scène du texte littéraire à la fin du Moyen Age: sa naissance dans l'œuvre d'art," in *La littérature et les arts figurés de l'Antiquité à nos jours, Actes du XIVe Congrès de l'Association Guillaume Budé* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2001), pp. 529–538.
13. Guillaume de Machaut, *Le Livre dou Voir Dit*, ed. Paul Imbs and Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1999). English translation: *Le Livre dou Voir Dit (The book of the True Poem)*, ed. Daniel Leech-Wilson, trans. R. Barton Palmer (New York: Garland, 1998), p. 7.
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15. Christine de Pizan, *Le livre de l'advision Christine*, ed. Christine Reno and Liliane Dulac (Paris: Champion, 2001), p. 110. English Translation: *The Writings of Christine de Pizan*, ed. Charity Cannon Willard (New York: Persea Books, 1994), p. 17.
16. Martin Le Franc, *Le Champion des Dames*, vol. 1, pp. 1–2.
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18. Tibaut, *Le Roman de la Poire*, ed. Christiane Marchello-Nizia (Paris: SATF, 1984).
19. Guillaume de Machaut, *Le Remede de Fortune*, in *Œuvres*, vol. 2. This expression can also be found in the *Voir Dit*, Letter 8, pp. 168–170.
20. Christine de Pizan, *Le Livre de la Mutacion de Fortune*, vol. 1. English Translation: Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Kevin Brownlee, *The Selected Writings of Christine de Pizan* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1997), p. 89.
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23. Christine de Pizan, *L'Advision*, p. 108, l. 16. English translation: *The Writings of Christine de Pizan*, ed. Willard, p. 15.
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28. Christine de Pizan, *Cent Ballades d'Amant et de Dame*, ed. Jacqueline Cerquiglini-[Toulet] (Paris: Union Générale d'Editions, 1982). English translation: *The Selected Writings of Christine de Pizan*, trans. R. Blumenfeld-Kosinski and K. Brownlee, p. 217.
29. Christine de Pizan, *L'Advision*, p. 107, l. 23. English translation: *The Writings of Christine de Pizan*, trans. C. Willard, p. 15.
30. Christine de Pizan, *Le Livre de la Mutacion de Fortune*, vol. 4.
31. Martin Le Franc, *Le Champion des Dames*, vol. 1, pp. 2–3.
32. *Complainte du livre du Champion des Dames a maistre Martin Le Franc son acteur*, ed. Gaston Paris in "Un poème inédit de Martin Le Franc," *Romania* 16 (1887): 383–437.
33. Voir Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet, "L'amour des livres au XIVe siècle," *Mélanges de philologie et de littérature médiévales offerts à Michel Burger*, ed. Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet and Olivier Collet (Geneva: Droz, 1994), pp. 333–340.
34. Eustache Deschamps, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire, SATF, 11 vols. (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1878), vol. 1, ballades 123 and 124.
35. Simon Gréban's *Complainte* is kept in three manuscripts and one old edition: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France MS fr. 1716, fols. 15v.–26v (the text is attributed to Alain Chartier); Paris, BnF MS latin 11414, fols. 33r–41v.; La Haye, Bibliothèque royale, MS 71. E. 49, fols. 307r–318v. On this text, see: Marc-René Jung, "Jacques Milet et son *Epître épilogative*," *Mélanges d'Etudes romanes du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance offerts à Monsieur Jean Rychner, Travaux de Linguistique et de Littérature*, 16:1 (1978): 241, n1 [241–258]. In this note, M.-R. Jung announces that Claude Thiry and himself plan to publish a critical edition of Simon Gréban's *Complainte*.
36. Jean Robertet, *Œuvres*, ed. Margaret Zsuppán (Geneva: Droz, 1970), pp. 159–178.
37. See Luc Hommel, *Pages choisies de Chastellain* (Paris: Editions Universitaires, 1949), p. 21.
38. René d'Anjou, *Le Livre du Cuer d'Amours espris*, ed. Susan Wharton (Paris: Union générale d'Editions, 1980), p. 141. New edition: ed. Florence Bouchet (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 2003), p. 135. On the cemetery in *Le Livre du Cuer*, see Daniel Poirion, "Les tombeaux allégoriques et la poétique de l'inscription dans le *Livre du Cuer d'Amours espris* de René d'Anjou (1457)," in *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Comptes Rendus des séances de l'année 1990, avril-juin* (Paris: De Boccard, 1990), pp. 321–334.
39. Giorgio Vasari, *Les Vies des Meilleurs Peintres, Sculpteurs et Architectes* [1550], 10 volumes, trans. and commented by André Chastel (Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1981–1987). See also Ernst Kris et Otto Kurz, *L'image de l'artiste. Légende, mythe et magie*, preface by E.H. Gombrich, trans. from English Michèle Hechter (Paris: Rivages, 1987). Originally *Die Legende vom Künstler: ein geschichtlicher Versuch* (Vienna: Krystall Verlag, 1934). In English: *Legend, Myth, and Magic in the Image of the Artist: An Historical Experiment*, trans. Alastair Laing (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979).

40. Gilles Li Muisis, *Poésies*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, 2 vols (Louvain: Lefever, 1882), vol. 1, pp. 86–94.
41. *Recueil d'Arts de Seconde rhétorique*, ed. Ernest Langlois (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1902), p. 11.
42. "Papelardie" in the *Roman de la Rose* has been translated by Charles Dahlberg as "Pope-Holiness" (*The Romance of the Rose* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971], p. 36) and as "Pope-Holy" by Harry Robins (*The Romance of the Rose* [New York: Dutton, 1962]), p. 10.
43. *Recueil d'Arts de Seconde rhétorique*, p. 12.
44. *Recueil d'Arts de Seconde rhétorique*, p. 14.
45. Martin Le Franc, *Le Champion des Dames*, vol. 4, p. 176.
46. Christine de Pizan, Jean Gerson, Jean de Montreuil, Gontier et Pierre Col, *Le Débat sur le Roman de la Rose*, ed. Eric Hicks (Paris: Champion, 1977), p. 100.
47. Martin Le Franc, *Le Champion des Dames*, vol. 1, p. 6.
48. See Carla Bozzolo, *Manuscrits des traductions françaises d'œuvres de Boccace. XVe siècle* (Padua: Editrice Antenore, 1973), p. 6.
49. Francesco Petrarca, *Seniles*, IX: 1, latin text in: *Librorum Francisci Petrarche annotatio impressorum* (Venice: 1501); English translation in *Letters of Old Age: Rerum senilium libri I-XVIII*, trans. Aldo S. Bernardo, Saul Levin, and Reta A. Bernardo, 2 vols. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1992), vol. 1, p. 312.
50. Francesco Petrarca, *Rerum familiarium libri*, IX: 13, latin text in *Le familiari*, ed. Vittorio Rossi, Edizione nazionale delle opere di Francesco Petrarca 10–13, 4 vols. (Firenze, G. C. Sansoni [1933–42]); English translation in *Letters on Familiar Matters: Rerum familarium libri XXIV*, trans. Aldo S. Bernardo, 3 vols. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1982), vol. 2, p. 40.
51. Eustache Deschamps, *Œuvres complètes*, vol. 8, p. 178.
52. François Villon, *Poésies diverses* in *Poésies complètes*, ed. Claude Thiry (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1991), p. 309. English translation: *The poems of François Villon*, trans. Galway Kinnell (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1977), p. 207.
53. See Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet, *L'écriture testamentaire à la fin du Moyen Age. Identité, dispersion, trace* (Oxford: Legenda, 1999).
54. *Le recueil des repues franches de Maistre François Villon et de ses compagnons*, ed. Jelle Koopmans and Paul Verhuyck (Geneva: Droz, 1995).
55. The editors of this edition indicate in their introduction that the Captain of the Pont à Billon, or the Pont-au-Change is a surname for the "trompeur" or deceiver (Koopmans and Verhuyck, p. 25) (Translator's note).

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CHAPTER 9

FRONTALLY AND IN PROFILE: THE IDENTIFYING GESTURE OF THE LATE MEDIEVAL AUTHOR

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One text is borne of a preceding one: medieval literature demonstrates how enduring this topos can be. A patron transmits a manuscript, or a *mécène* designates a slew of manuscripts, or an author discovers in a library some "little book" that he is keen to translate. The mystery of textual antecedence is often based on an alleged chance discovery coupled with what is said of the patron's order. In its very materiality, the forgotten manuscript peeks out from the layers of the library's dust, an object of memory capable of engendering a new text. Filial relations are indeed at play: faithful to his father, the son gamely runs the gauntlet of innovation through either reshaping or translating the older text. In the fifteenth century in particular, this topos sets in motion the various components of literary transmission. A veritable rhetoric of the genesis of the text is enacted in the openings of many late medieval texts.

Thus, the author, or, shall we say, the narrator-to-be, strikes an identifying pose within the space of a prologue and within a temporality defined by a gesture—gesture toward an unknown book, drawn from the anonymity of time. This discovery serves as the central element of the identity rhetoric. In fact, both in manuscripts and in printed texts, the prologue is linked to a tradition that is clearly and, so to speak, frontally represented as an object unearthed by a curious gaze and then opened and decoded—oftentimes with great difficulty—before being offered up to a wider distribution thanks to a modernized idiom and a reworking of the raw materials. In

these opening scenes, in the restricted space of the prologue and the fleeting temporality of a discovery, the author stages himself through the movement of his hand and the trajectory of his gaze.[1] In other words, by beginning with the required gesture of the opening ceremony of a romance—the prologue—he takes on a well-established pose, which consists in affirming his respectful affiliation with an authority.

These origin scenes have their own glorious past. Beginning with the twelfth century and the *Roman de Troie*, and later on with *Perceforest*, scenes of manuscript discovery and scenes of reading are embedded within the texts themselves.[2] Following in the tradition of annunciations—as we see in Christine de Pizan's *Livre de la Cité des Dames*[3]—inaugural scenes tend to replace the topos of the discovery with that of the strange apparition or the unique encounter, which also participates in the creation of a myth of origin. All texts are stamped with a seal of filiation, but this holds particularly true in a century heavy with notions of heritage. In the prologue to Raoul Lefèvre's *Histoire de Jason*, a strange figure appears bearing a knowledge to be transmitted, understood, and revived. "Ancre ta galee icy et prens ta plume" [Anchor your ship here and take up your pen]: Jason enjoins the author who, posturing an identity, has just described himself as a soul buffeted by the waves, in search of calmer ports. The figure appearing to him then becomes the hero of his book.[4]

The tradition is thus designated directly: the source is an object, the book or chance meeting that calls forth the memory of a book: "ce dont tu as leu la verité" [of which you read the truth], says Jason.[5] The gesture sketches itself out to be seen: one hand reaching backwards in time toward the book, the heightened memory of a book once read and waiting to be brought back to life, the movement of a gaze that questions and then directs itself back to the pen.

The Forgotten, Neglected Book

Such is the expected posture of the author who occupies a given space in order to achieve an effect of reality: one fine day he found himself in a library, a reader curious to see what was buried beneath the dust, ready to exert his gaze, eager with the anticipation of discovery. It is the closed space of the library or the closed space of a retreat within oneself, enriched by the limited temporality of a prologue that are the elements that permit the text to be inscribed in the uncertain moment of its birth. During the late Middle Ages, this representation of a filiation—one book giving birth to another—involves a much more personal anecdote happening during the time an author (anonymous or well-known) hovers over the source-book. This representation is based on an intimate, almost dreamlike, temporality, which is linked to

the secret of genesis. The text then becomes the fruit of an event that is recounted, and that belongs to the time of a particular life. The topos of the extended arm and the gaze of discovery creates a suspense linked to the fragile chance of contingency. The author presides over the book-to-be, sketching out gestures that function as signs. The expected movements of hand and gaze, which apparently define the singularity of the individual, never hide their role as the parable of a relationship with the past and oblivion.

The prologue, then, is a workspace, an atelier, a factory for the production of the text. In the fifteenth century, this factory was governed by the normalized tastes of the day and indications of what we might call the horizon of expectations, which allows itself to be glimpsed by the repetition of the signs of recognition, reproduced across multiple texts. This procedure—whereby the text is seized right at the point when it embarks on a new path—is the subject of a discourse that one can follow from ca. 1440 till the beginning of the sixteenth century. It is the heir to the topos of the found manuscript. We realize, however, that by virtue of an author's gesture—an author who claims that he opened a book and found therein matter worthy of transmission—we are dealing with an individualized encounter in which the author shows himself frontally and in profile (that is to say, in a posture that occupies space). The book-to-be is a direct result of the author's mental state located in a certain space. The actual discovery of the book is illustrated by a series of works, particularly in Burgundy. As for the mental posture, it is carried on in a tradition ranging from Christine's "cele" [study] to Raoul Lefèvre's table at which Jason, a cultural figure with a political destiny, comes back to life.[6]

Already then, harbored within the space of the library, his pen almost at hand, the writer begins to establish the birth certificate of the book. This "documentation" takes one of two forms: either the forgotten manuscript hidden under dust, the nameless child wandering lost amongst the crowd of other books is granted the status of memento worthy to give birth to a new text; or a cultural figure surging to the forefront of a day dream enrolls the writer to serve an ideology.[7] This identity gesture places itself within a space supposedly endowed with credibility and verisimilitude, not at the heart of fiction, in the presence of a group of protagonists forming a sort of collective dramaturgy—as is the case in the manuscript discovered in *Le Roman de Troie* or *Perceforest*—but rather at the heart of a private space in which the writer is alone with the folios covered with signs. When the narrator-to-be describes himself shuffling through the pages, he posits the text as the object of a labor-to-come, in a genre scene that one might call archeological. Viewed frontally or viewed in profile, the author is temporarily the center of attention as the individual singled out to sift through the strata of the past in a gesture linked to both the everyday and chance.

The writer-to-be is spurred into writing by the discovery or chance meeting. The hand reaches out to the book, craving the unknown the content of which seems worthy of transmission, rewriting, even translation. Certainly, the focus on the writer's agency was striking in Christine de Pisan's work, in the slightly gloomy, empty space of an hour of reading.[8] This agency appears, albeit shyly, latently, in the figure of the writer of *Jean d'Avesnes*, in the cycle of *La fille du comte de Ponthieu*:

> Ainsi comme par adventure, pour passer le temps, je m'estoie naguerez trouvé en l'estude d'un tres noble seigneur, garny a planté de pluiseurs biaulx livres desquels je m'aproçay et en commençay lirre, comme je trouvasse livrez a souhait, je quis finablement tant que je m'arrestay a ung ancien livre en latin qui contenoit pluiseurs hystoirez; et pour ce qu'il estoit comme mis en nonchalloir, je lisi dedens. Et entre les aultrez hystoirez, j'en trouve une qui pou estoit en usaige, pour laquelle lirre je eslevay les yeulz de mon entendement.[9]
>
> [Thus, by adventure, to pass the time, I found myself in the private study of a very noble lord, furnished lavishly with many beautiful books. I reached for them and started to read, as I found as many volumes I could hope for. I searched until I stopped before an ancient book in Latin, which contained many stories. Since it looked forgotten and in a state of neglect, I read through it. Among many stories, I found one that was quite obsolete and required that I strained the eyes of my understanding.]

Thus the speaker claims to inscribe himself within the context of a singular moment, not unlike Claude Platin, the "humble frere" [humble friar] who found himself one day "en une petite librairie" [in a little library],[10] or the anonymous author of *Gillion de Trazegnies* passing by an abbey,[11] or yet another who was seized by the activity of reading while skimming through "plusieurs volumez et traittiez" [numerous volumes and treatises], stopping only at "a ung livret qui fait mencion des haultez entreprisez, amours et beaulx fais d'armes d'un conte d'Artois, dont la narracion se fera cy après" [a booklet that mentions the feats, loves and prowess of a certain Count of Artois, whose narration will follow here],[12] or, finally, like Pierre Sala who put on his glasses in order to read a set of worn-out letters.[13] In all these instances of the motif, it is the hunger for the unknown that is underscored.

On the threshold of the work, perception takes for its object the substantial trail left behind by times past, that is the collection of folios taken up by the activity of the person we call both author and narrator, thanks to this temporality which confers upon him an identity built out of topoi. Just as the book-to-be requires a human hand to turn the pages, the materiality of the gesture belongs to a singular history. The narrator wants to establish himself within time while gaining an understanding of his source and of the temporality of the book "mis en nonchalloir," forgotten and neglected by

man.[14] But this source must be chosen, as it is said, for example, in the prologue to *Isaÿe le Triste*, since the narrator says that he sat down to his task "après avoyr tourne et revolve plusieurs livres et anciens romans" [after turning old books and ancient romances around and around].[15]

The singular history identifying the author can be very precise. For instance, in *Gillion de Trazegnies*, after arriving at the Abbaye of Hainault, the narrator asks about the secret of the tombs. The mortuary object will reveal a secret that will in turn become a romance. The dead are brought back to live their fate at the same time that the book is given a second chance to be read.[16] The narrator appears as an eyewitness to both the places and the pages discovered. In the space of a library, the topos involves the body and its gestures: the author of the prologue becomes the narrator of his own anecdotal readership and an important actor in a new temporality based on a communication cycle. The chain of memory agents appears then as the scene of a new origin.

The liminal apparatus of the prologue places the focus progressively and temporarily on the book's role as an object of social consumption. This seems paradoxical, given the prologue's limited status as the recounting of a chance encounter. As the author leafs through a book he takes on the role of narrator through a fairly detailed posture, whereby he presents himself both frontally and in profile. This singular gesture that opens the door to the book is somewhat of a personal anecdote, one that can be interpreted in terms of authorial identity, particularly when read against those famous prologues that define well-known personalities in the literary world such as Christine de Pizan, or Raoul Lefèvre striving for the glory of the Golden Fleece. For such scenarios belong to a range of possible mysteries, no longer the manuscript sealed up in an ancient tower but a simple book found amongst many others, perhaps offered up by the hand of a friend in an act of happy coincidence, as described by the narrator at the beginning of *Guillaume de Palerne*:

> A ceste occasion, par aulcun mien amy, fut a moy, humble translateur et traducteur de la presente hystoire, presente l'ancien livre auquel elle [l'histoire] estoit contenue quasi comme en frische, en grant danger d'estre perdue, anichilee et enrouillee d'oubly.
>
> [On this occasion, I—humble transmitter and translator of this tale—was offered by a friend the ancient book in which the story lay fallow, in great danger of becoming lost, ruined and rusty from disuse.][17]

Two elements commingle here: the amply developed question of the mystery that is told in the prologue of *Gillion de Trazegnies*, that is, the secret of the three tombs, and, closer to the question of productive melancholy we find

in the tradition illustrated by Christine de Pizan, the eruption from stormy seas of a sorry figure: Jason neglected by the memory of man.[18] Just like the metaphor of the bitter man standing alone amidst fog and mist, the mystery of the forgotten book is an invitation to writing.

Rewriting

At the beginning of the prosification of *La Belle Hélène de Constantinople*, Jean Wauquelin claims to have followed "le contenu d'un livret rimé" [the content of a rhymed book] that his lord had given him "pour retrenchier et sincoper les prolongacions et motz inutiles qui souvent sont mis et boutez en telles rimes" [so that that he might cut down and reduce the digressions and superfluous words that were often added to such rhymes].[19] The process of actualizing a reading necessarily engages a judgement on the means of transmission, be it the worn-out, incomplete, and barely legible book, or the language itself, time-worn, outdated, and archaic.

The "aornee" [ornate] language is in itself a topos. And yet, despite its rigidity, the evaluation of a language that is difficult to understand, obscures meaning, and thwarts the desired goal of communication emanates from a subjective judgment based on identity. The use of the imperfect tense demonstrates that the "I" is at work in this process. The imperfect retraces the narrator's inscription in the scene and the difficulty experienced by the character in the library who finds himself confronted with a nearly impenetrable text. It is the gaze of an individual that is manifest here, in this restricted personal space of the reader who evaluates the relative worth of the found object in terms of its quality and the linguistic difficulties it presents. Victim of the years, the book offers itself up to a modernization of its language,[20] but the evaluation of the found book's quality belongs to the focused field of the reader-discoverer of that rare text worthy of being inscribed into memory.

This desire is founded on a recurrent argument: the recognition of exemplarity. Pulled out of the depths of the ages, the text is prepared to seduce future readers. Its language is reworked, embellished and decorated in order to confirm its edifying character and to display the norm in action. He who reestablishes the older text's position within a new horizon of consumption appropriates the topos of exemplarity, that is an identity topos by which the narrator-to-be views himself as a man with a mission. In fact, he views his mission as double: it is an evaluative activity focusing both on the writing practices of ancient times and on the values put forth by the work. As an essential element of the paratext, the prologue is profoundly linked to the work's reception and its "consumption" by a first reader, with the goal of transmission to a reader-to-be.[21]

The author, having read the work, sets himself the task of reordering the text and creating a new language that will render the text intelligible. At the same time, the reader-to-be looms large. This audience, which we may call "lisans" [the readers], still finds itself often defined by its binary opposition to another group: "escoutans" [the listeners]. For the speaking subject of the book-to-be, sketching out its raisons d'être, the work possesses the dignity of a material able to edify and to please, thanks to a language better adapted to its readership and at the same time embellished for the pleasure of "delicates oreilles" [delicate ears], as Pierre Durand will say in the fifteenth century in his prosification of *Guillaume de Palerne*.[22]

It is most assuredly a gesture of identity when the "translateur" [transmitter] addresses the *mécène* hungry for reading, just as the narrator of *Gérard de Nevers* addresses Charles, count of Nevers:

> [P]our ce que je vous sens estre enclin a prendre plaisir esleesier a voir et oïr lire les plaisantes et gracieuses histoires des fais des nobles et vaillans princes jadis vos predecesseurs, et meismement de tous aultres nobles homes qui par cy devant, par leurs proeces et vaillances, au confort et a l'ayde de leur noble chevalerye ont fait leurs conquestes.
>
> [For I feel that you are inclined to take pleasure and enjoyment from seeing and hearing the pleasant and gracious stories of the feats performed by the noble and valiant princes who were once your predecessors, and by all the other noble men who, long ago, through their prowess and their valiance, with the support and help of their noble knights, accomplished their conquests.][23]

The notion of desire is clearly present. The speaker identifies first with his own desire, and then with the desire that he attributes to the "volentifz liseurs, desirans nouvelles chosez veoir [qui] porroient au lire quelque pou prendre de plaisir et recreer leurs esperis" [eager readers who desire to see new things, things which could be read for pleasure and which could entertain their minds], as the prologue to the *Roman du comte d'Artois* indicates.[24]

The role of the writer is thus confirmed. But, what of the demand for *conjointure* that appears in the twelfth century? In the late Middle Ages, the prologue assimilates writing with farming, which is a vigilant keeper of memory. The original book lies fallow while the ground dries out. Vegetal metaphors are placed in service of work, and the (literary) work, like any cultivated plant, demands man's attentions:

> Tout ainsi comme la vigne qui n'est de toute facons labouree facillement est subjecte a mauvaises herbes et si elle n'est bien et convenablement taillee le fruit en est moins savoureux, si la convient amender et ameliorer, aultrement facillement demourroit en frische, ainsi est des hystoires antiques et choses dignes de memoire, qui sont proffitables et savoureuses comme le bon vin.

> [Since vines are prone to weeds if not properly cared for, and produce less tasty fruit if they are not carefully clipped, one must work to improve them, otherwise the land could promptly lie fallow. Such is the case for ancient stories and other things worthy of memory, which are profitable and savory like good wine.][25]

Retaling a text with new words so as to validate its worth is a gesture comparable to that of the attentive hand, keeper of a fertile garden. The prologue of *Isaÿe le Triste* claims that forgotten noble acts resemble "vieille racine de l'arbre qui de jour en jour pert son honneur radical par faulte d'estre arrousee et cultivee en sa vertu primeraine" [the old tree root which, day by day, looses its radical honor for lack of water and the proper care needed to restore its original vitality].[26] Only when the risk of infertile ground has been averted does the book give way to the fruits of pleasure.

Pierre Durand speaks of rust—the work "en grant danger d'estre perdue, anichilee et enrouillee d'oubly" [in danger of being lost, ruined and rusty from disuse]—that is perhaps the effect of the outdated language of "rommant antique rymoié en sorte non intelligible ne lisible" [an ancient rhymed romance, neither intelligible nor legible].[27] Gilles Corrozet, at the beginning of the *Roman de Richart sans paour*, speaks of a "petit livre" [little book], "nouvellement translaté de vieille rime en prose" [recently translated from old rhyme into prose].[28] At the end of the romance, Corrozet precises that "il eust esté impossible de le translater nattement pour le langage corrompu dont il estoit plain" [it would have been impossible to translate it precisely due to its corrupt language].[29] The acts of tidying up and rejuvenating belong to a group of intentions set forth by a speaker who recounts the effort undertaken, all the while evaluating the difficulties he must face and the imperfect nature of his task. To this, he may add the factor of his own pleasure, as in the case of the narrator of the *Roman de Floriant et Florete*: "pour ce que la matiere du present livret m'est plus agreable a lire en prose que en rime, me vueil pener de le transporter de rime en prose" [because the content of this book is more pleasant to me when read in prose, I am willing to take the trouble to transpose it from rhyme into prose].[30]

The prologue of *Jean de Saintré* and those of numerous other works speak of the embellishment of language—this "flory et aorné langaige" [florid and adorned language]—that is undertaken for the sake of the "lisans et escoutans" [readers and listeners].[31] Such claims are accompanied by the humility topos, as well as by stylistic games that pit the narrator's awkwardness against the ornamental effect he seeks to achieve. We see this at work in Jean Wauquelin's "simplece" [simplicity] and his style that is "rude et sans fioriture" [crude and plain],[32] and in the risk of "fault" [error] or "prolixité de langage" [chattiness] that the editor of the *Lancelot-Graal* manuscript apologizes for

and begs us in his prologue to correct.[33] Edited in 1488 in Rouen, the prologue to the *Lancelot en prose* features a speaker who excuses himself for the "crudité et indigestion du langage qui est gros et maternel" [crudeness and indigestibility of a coarse mother tongue].[34]

The author who finds himself before a work in peril of being forgotten takes on a posture that integrates the procedures of transmission: it is not only a question of going from rhyme to prose, but also of transferring the material out of a badly understood language—a fearsome obstacle to the reader. *Gérard de Nevers* comes from a little "livret lequel par avant estoit en langage prouvençal et moult difficile a entendre" [book which was at first written in provençal and very difficult to understand].[35] *Gillion de Trazegnies* was born from "ung petit livre en parchemin escript d'une tres ancienne lettre moult obscure en langue ytalienne" [a little parchement book, written in Italian, in a very old style of script that was difficult to read].[36] The language used in *Histoire de Giglan* is "assez difficile a entendre" [fairly difficult to understand], and the book is written on "parchemin bien vieil" [rather old parchement].[37] Added to these various linguistic difficulties, we also find the ravages of time, such as were faced by Pierre Sala who had to confront the faded letters of "vieil Tristan" [old Tristan] and the "marges du parchemin cassees" [broken edges of parchment].[38]

The work rescued from the clutches of time must undergo an editing process in order to mend the archaic expressions of its language and improve the organization of its content. It is also interesting to examine how the printer, in listing the details of his operation, participates in these various ways of confirming the status of identity: the relation to claimed sources, the succession of different agents, the older book taken up by the modern man. It is part of the daily tasks of the printer/writer to evaluate the work done on a text that seemed to him at points not quite right, either because of the language or because of the organization of the content.[39]

Casting Anchor

There is no better-known example of the display of personal temporality than that manifested in the prologue to *Le Livre de la Cité des Dames*. This example is all the more famous in that it is the first time such a display is done by a female voice in the context of a woman's quest for culture and learning. Surrounded by books, her spirit weary, the narrator happens upon a small tome, left in her study by someone else. Reading this book provokes in Christine a deep turmoil and a state of anguish mitigated only by the appearance of the three crowned women.[40] This mini-adventure, placed at the opening of the book, is entirely centered on the gaze and the narrator's *face à face* with the work. Although the scene possesses a well-designed and

unique poetic character, we can still compare it to the more humble literary thresholds mentioned herein.

In *Histoire de Jason*, for example, the text finds its origin in an apparition that transmits knowledge rooted in a destiny to deplore and to celebrate. In the prologue, the fog of a latent mystery dissipates at the sound of the voice of ideology. In this manner, we witness the fusing of the apparition's space with the space of the writer whose mind seeks a safe haven, a place of rest. The work's threshold is often defined through a poetics of patronage, which appears clearly in more circumstantial inaugurations where the gesture of authorship is inscribed in a social context. In this case, the author and the patron come together as a duo, practicing a form of symbolic economy.[41] But here, as in *Le Livre de la Cité des Dames*, the birth of the written word is brought about by absenting oneself from the world. In his prologue, Raoul Lefèvre enters into a world of metaphors, not unlike the one Christine enters through the acts of building and writing. In Lefèvre's case, the metaphor is centered aroung the casting of an anchor, much as the printed prologue of *Lancelot* refers to a narrator who claims to have "fiché l'encre de [son] entendement" [thrown out the anchor of his understanding].[42]

Le Livre du Coeur d'amour espris is probably the best illustration of the complex relationship between fiction and claims of reality. The text finds its origin not only in cultural memory—since the speaker refers to shared readings, which he assumes are familiar to his readers[43]—but also in the individual event of sleep, which marks a break with the time of daily activities and a dissociation with the Heart that has become the sleeper's double. In the epilogue, the Heart returns to its proper place, the place of fiction: its adventure has lost the status of a reality effect. Through the writing of the dream, the text ensures that the only reality is the one established by the work of the pen, as is the case of the narrator of *Histoire de Jason*, whose pen stands in for the movement of a boat now fitted with an anchor. The clarity of the writing project is a substitute for dreaming and the movement of waves that is now close to become a work under construction. Cultural know-how, for a Raoul Lefèvre wielding an expert pen, becomes a weighty ideological tool. The metaphor of a dream about space is heavy with meaning: constructing, handling solid and beautiful material, escaping from the uncertainty of the waves—these all work together to consolidate memory. The handiwork belongs to the speaker at the beginning of the book and the maritime metaphor inscribes the narrator's "engin" [brain] within the uncertainty of past writings:

> La galee de mon engin flotant naguieres en la parfondeur des mers de pluseurs vielles histoires, ainsy comme je vouloie mener mon esperit en port de repos, soudainement s'apparu decoste moy une nef conduite par un homme seul.

> [The boat of my brain was afloat at that time in the deep seas of several ancient stories that I wanted to lead my mind to a restful harbor when, suddenly, there appeared next to me a ship manned by a lone captain.][44]

The gaze uncovers the "face triste et desolee" [sad and sorry face] and comes alive with "grant desir" [great desire]. The "galee" [boat] must come to rest in the safe harbor that is knowledge, which in turn leads to writing. This rests upon a truth known to the author, as Jason tells us, and this truth functions in opposition to the "indiscret jugement" [indiscrete judgement] of those who would slander him. Thus, in a brief annunciation, the man claims to have chosen the narrator to present the work to Duke Philippe, "qui toute sa vie a esté nourry en histoires pour son singulier passetemps" [who, all his life, had been nourished by stories as his personal pastime]. Jason and his boat fade into the mist: all that remains is the mission he imparted, and the narrator's pensive mood, "illec pensif."[45]

The "galee" [boat] has entered into the field of writing. The topos of the threshold and the theme of the moment of origin are masterfully demonstrated here. The indetermination of the mind that seeks repose and the echo of divided opinion that would like to recognize a hero with confirmed values rests upon the indetermination of space, on the absence of borders that mimic the floating imagination without fixed points—with the exception of its own desire. The maritime metaphor brings together the speaker and the man who, having sprung forth from the waters, will bring him the truth and object of his work. As for Christine de Pizan, and for other prologues—but here in the most simply poetic fashion—the narrator reports a singular and intimate temporality, fertile with the possibility of adventure.

As in *Le Livre de la Cité des Dames* in *Histoire de Jason* the morose, melancholic mind conditions the possibility of writing. Here, the apparition rich in truths issues forth from the waves—from the infinity of "vielles histoires" [ancient stories] and from the indetermination of time and of the world of forgetting. Suddenly, out of the mist appears the boat captained by a solitary man, a double of the waiting writer. Only a few lines are needed to describe the grandeur of Jason's lineage, as well as to suggest the noble acts performed by he who claims to be "enrachiné en tristese" [rooted in sadness]. To transmit such a truth, one needs no less than to be elected, like Christine. The character standing on his boat offers up the sign of his heritage, waiting for the author to confirm his brilliant truth.

The identity process is amplified here: the buffeting of an unanchored boat doubles the uncertainty of a pen without a mission, the evanescence of an undefined subject. The growing conviction of Christine and here, the vanishing of the mist, then a surge from beyond the sea's horizon, the words

exchanged between the man on the ship and the man of letters, all come together to consolidate the mission of the text-to-be.

Viewed frontally or in profile, the author, narrator-to-be, evolves willingly within a space of topoi. The origin of the book is rooted in the materiality of the older book—a necessary condition for the gestation of the book-to-be—and the discoverer of the book appears on stage as favored by chance. As a cultural reflex made up of repetitions, the topos expresses the relationship with a written object at a moment in time at which the gesture of a hand and the man before his worktable herald the texts, and at which the library enters fully into the world of representation. In late medieval literature, the discovery of the book, as well as the apparition of the mythological figure whose fate had been read before being understood, are accompanied with gestures of surprise and glances by which the narrator takes on, in a scene described as personal, a central role. The author's identity gesture of a personal discovery, circumscribed in time, confirms his filiation with the past heritage, the book to be discovered and deciphered in order for a book to begin.

Notes

1. The gender issue related to the author's identity in late medieval romances will not be addressed directly in this essay, although references to Christine de Pizan's opening of *Le Livre de la Cité des Dames* may bring this issue to the reader's mind. In agreement with the author of this essay, the translator took the late medieval romance author/narrator as a figure culturally constructed and viewed as masculine, as Christine de Pizan herself understood it when she described in *Le livre de la mutacion de Fortune* the symbolic sex change that happened to her after she lost her husband and became a professional writer in order to pilot her family ship. On Christine's complex position on nature, culture, fortune, and gender, see: Barbara Newman, *God and the Goddesses: Vision, Poetry, and Belief in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), pp. 115–119.
2. On manuscript discovery, Emmanuèle Baumgartner remarks that the majority of authors "identify themselves as translators, as more or less faithful adaptors of Latin or middle-Latin sources," which signals "their debt" and their link to the source text. "Du manuscript trouvé au corps retrouvé," *Le Topos du manuscrit trouvé*, ed. J. Herman and F. Hallyn (Louvain: Peeters, 1999), p. 1 [1–14]. On scenes of reading, see Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet, "La scène de lecture dans l'oeuvre littéraire au Moyen Age," *Le Goût du lecteur à la fin du Moyen Age: Actes du colloque de Bordeaux 1999* (Paris: Léopard d'or, forthcoming).
3. Original text in Christine de Pizan, *La Città delle Dame*, 2nd edn., ed. Earl Jeffrey Richards and Patrizia Caraffi (Milan: Luni Editrice, 1998), pp. 40–46. English translation: *The Book of the City of Ladies*, trans. Earl Jeffrey Richards (New York: Persea Books, 1998), pp. 3–8.

4. Raoul Lefèvre, *L'Histoire de Jason: Eine Roman aus dem fünfzehnten Jahrhundert*, ed. Gert Pinkernell (Frankfurt: Athenäum, 1971), p. 125.
5. Lefèvre, *L'Histoire de Jason*, p. 125.
6. Christine de Pizan, *La Città delle Dame*, p. 40; *The Book of the City of Ladies*, p. 3. Lefèvre, *L'Histoire de Jason*, p. 125.
7. The institution of the Golden Fleece by the Duke of Burgundy is rooted in classical culture and had an influence on Raoul Lefèvre's *Histoire de Jason*, written between 1454 and 1467.
8. Christine de Pizan, *La città delle Dame*, p. 40; *The Book of the City of Ladies*, p. 3.
9. *L'Istoire de tres vaillans princez monseigneur Jehan d'Avennes*, ed. Danielle Quéruel, Textes et perspectives. Bibliothèque des Seigneurs du Nord (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 1997), p. 41.
10. "Ung jour en une petite librairie [ou] j'estoye trouvay ung gros livre de parchemin bien vieil escript en rime espaignolle assez difficile a entendre auquel livre je trouvay une petite hystoire laquelle me semble bien plaisante, qui parloit de deux nobles chevaliers qui furent du temps du noble roy Artus et des nobles chevaliers de la table ronde." [One day, I was in a little library where I found a big book made of very old parchment and written in Spanish verse that was fairly difficult to understand. In this book I found a little story that seemed very pleasing and that spoke of two noble knights who lived during the time of noble King Arthur and the noble Knights of the Round Table]. Claude Platin, *Histoire de Giglan filz de messire Gauvain qui fut roy de Galles* . . . . Printed by Claude Nourry, Lyon, 1530, Prologue, [p. 1]. Many thanks to V. Greene for this reference.
11. *Histoire de Gillion de Trasignies*, ed. O. L. B. Wolff (Paris-Leipzig: 1839), p. 1.
12. *Roman du comte d'Artois*, ed. Jean-Charles Seigneuret (Geneva: Droz, 1966), p. 151.
13. Pierre Sala, *Tristan, roman d'aventures*, ed. L. Muir (Geneva: Droz, 1953), vv. 4–7.
14. *Jean d'Avesnes*, p. 41. See the temporal articulation of the beginning of *Jean d'Avesnes*, quoted above.
15. Prologue to *Ysaÿe le Triste*. Printed by Jean Bonfons, ca. 1550, BnF Ye 72. A parallel can be established between this activity within a space filled with books and the abondance of representations of libraries in the iconography of the period. See Claudia Rabel, " 'L'estude d'un tres noble seigneur garny a planté de pluiseurs beaulx livres': l'iconographie des bibliothèques médiévales dans les manuscrits enluminés," in *Le goût du lecteur à la fin du moyen Age* (see above n. 2).
16. *Histoire de Gillion de Trasignies*, p. 1.
17. "Prologue de l'acteur ou translateur" in *Guillaume de Palerne*, ed. Olivier Arnoullet, Lyons: 1552 (Paris MS Arsenal BnF 4288), fol. 1v. In her thesis in progress Annie-France Garrus gives an edition of this romance, established according to Olivier Arnoullet's 1552 Lyon editions and Nicolas Bonfons's two later editions (s.d. BnF Y2 696 and Y2 685). See Annie-France Garrus "Pierre Durand, lecteur de *Guillaume de Palerne* mis en prose au XVIe siècle," *Le goût du lecteur*.

18. The goal of the work was the rehabilitation of the unfaithful Jason, as it was solemnly announced in the "proheme de l'istoire de Jason extraite de pluseurs livres et presentee a noble et redouté prince Phelipe, par la grace de Dieu duc de Bourgoingne et de Brabant" [prologue of the story of Jason, taken from various books and presented to the noble and fearsome Prince Philip by the grace of God duke of Burgundy and Brabant]. Raoul Lefèvre, *L'Histoire de Jason*, p. 125.
19. Jean Wauquelin, *La Belle Hélène de Constantinople*, ed. M. C. de Crécy (Geneva: Droz, 2002), p. 14.
20. In the case of printed stories, renewing the material—an event attached to the advent of new media—may be the object of developed statements. See Danielle Régnier-Bohler, " 'Pour ce que la memoire est labile': le cas exemplaire d'un imprimeur de Genève, Louis Garbin," *Le Moyen Français* 24–25 (1990): 187–213.
21. The paratext is defined as an ensemble of statements "which surround a text," destined to insure "its presence in the world, its reception and its consumption." Gérard Genette, *Palimpsestes* (Paris: Seuil, 1982), p. 7. See Danielle Bohler, "Le lecteur inscrit dans le projet du livre: le roman chevaleresque et son prologue, du manuscrit aux imprimés," in *Le goût du lecteur*.
22. See prologue of *Guillaume de Palerne*.
23. *Gérard de Nevers: Prose version of the Roman de la Violette*, ed. Lawrence F. H. Lowe (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1928) pp. 1–2.
24. *Roman du comte d'Artois*, p. 151.
25. See prologue of *Guillaume de Palerne*.
26. Prologue to *Isaÿe le Triste*.
27. See prologue of *Guillaume de Palerne*.
28. Gilles Corrozet, *Roman de Richart sans paour*, edited by Lotrian and Janot, Paris, ca. 1530. See also *Richard Sans Peur edited from Le Romant de Richart and from Gilles Corrozet's Richart Sans Paour*, ed. D. J. Conlon, North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures 192 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), p. 71.
29. "Je Gilles Corrozet, simple translateur de ceste hystoire prie a tous lecteurs qu'ilz veuillent suporter les faultes qui y seront trouvees, car il eust este impossible de le translater nattement pour le langage corrompu dont il estoit plain." This passage is not in Conlon's edition but appears at the end of the Lotrian and Janot edition.
30. *Roman de Floriant et Florete ou le Chevalier qui la nef maine*, ed. Claude M. L. Levy (Ottawa: Editions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1983), p. 1.
31. Antoine de la Salle, *Jehan de Saintré*, printed edition Jehan Bonfons, Paris 1553, BnF Ye 692.
32. Jean Wauquelin, *La Belle Hélène*, p. 14.
33. This manuscript containing parts of the *Lancelot-Grail* is dated ca. 1470. BnF MS Fr. 112, fol. 1v of the fourth book.
34. *Lancelot en prose*, edited in Rouen by Le Bourgeois, 1488, prologue.
35. *Gérard de Nevers*, p. 2.
36. *Histoire de Gillion de Trasignies*, p. 1.

37. Claude Platin, *Histoire de Giglan*, [p. 1].
38. Pierre Sala, *Tristan*, vv. 4–7.
39. See Régnier-Bohler, " 'Pour ce que la mémoire' ".
40. Christine de Pizan, *La città delle Dame*, pp. 40–46; *The Book of the City of Ladies*, pp. 3–6.
41. See the ensemble of precautions that go along with the solicitation, in the prologue of *Fierabras* by Jean Bagnyon for example, ed. H.-E. Keller, Textes Littéraires Français 413 (Droz: Geneva, 1992).
42. *Lancelot en prose*, edited in Rouen by Le Bourgeois, 1488.
43. See the wonderfully rich introduction of the recent edition: René d'Anjou, *Le Livre du Cœur d'amour espris*, ed. and trans. Florence Bouchet, Lettres Gothiques (Paris: Livre de Poche, 2003). English translation: *The Book of the Love-Smitten Heart*, ed. and trans. Stephanie Viereck Gibbs and Kathryn Karczewska (New York: Routledge, 2001).
44. Lefèvre, *L'Histoire de Jason*, p. 125.
45. Lefèvre, *L'Histoire de Jason*, p. 125.

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CHAPTER 10

MEDIEVAL BESTSELLERS IN THE AGE OF PRINT: *MELUSINE* AND *OLIVIER DE CASTILLE*

Ana Pairet

The medieval vocabulary of writing reflects an awareness of the social fabric of texts and of the diverse types of agency involved in their performance: it distinguishes the material role of the *scriptor*, the narrative performance of the *actor*, and the discursive authority of the *auctores*, to name only a few of the activities collapsed under the modern "author function." The meaning of such lexical markers and their vernacular equivalents changes according to generic conventions and historical period, creating some leeway in textual transmission; after all, a scribe could easily enough transform *actor* into *auctor*. It is indeed flexibility that ultimately characterizes the construction of medieval authorship, a notion marked, as Jacques Dalarun notes, by a near absence "of external constraints, and particularly juridical ones, on the author and his rights" and thus by "the possibility of an internal play on authority."[1] If we accept as a given that in manuscript culture, authorial performance is reenacted at every stage of textual transmission, we may ask how the shift from script to print affects medieval conventions of authorship. My goal here is to examine the new roles taken up by early modern printers in shaping the trajectory of medieval texts and how the presence of these new "players" may reconfigure notions of authorship. I will follow in particular the editorial fortunes and textual transformations of two chivalric romances that reached a broad readership during the first decades of print: *Mélusine ou La noble histoire de Lusignan*, written in 1393 by Jean d'Arras, and the Franco-Burgundian *Histoire d'Olivier de Castille et d'Artus d'Algarbe*, signed "Philippe le Camus," composed before 1460.

To the best of our knowledge, neither Philippe le Camus nor Jean d'Arras ever signed another work; indeed, their only lasting mark lies in the act of self-naming in the romance's prologue or *explicit*. They made no claims to authorship but rather presented themselves as professional writers acting as compilers, translators, or *remanieurs* [revisers] who aimed to please their powerful patrons. Authorial consecration of these modest clerks derives in part from the activity of early publishers whose editorial strategies both perpetuated medieval narrative traditions and introduced forms of textual authority distinct from those at work in manuscript culture. What will interest me here is how the literary poetics of self-naming and self-representation operating in the late Middle Ages are modified by editorial practices attendant to printing, including paratextual elements such as title pages, prefaces, and illustrations. I do not intend to discuss early printed texts as material objects nor to reconstruct the network of social relations involved in their production, but rather to show how the rhetoric of transmission, central to the medieval discourse of *translatio*, contributes to shaping new and sophisticated authorial figures in the early modern period.

Introduction of the printing press in fifteenth-century France did not substantially modify contemporary literary culture. In quantitative terms, works in the vernacular, including translations from the Latin classical and medieval tradition, form less than one quarter of the books printed before 1500. Attempting to reproduce in print an aristocrat's ideal library, early publishers turned naturally to courtly literature, in particular to those fictions that staged the courtiers' codes of conduct such as Martin le Franc's *Le Champion des Dames* or Pierre Michault's *Doctrinal de la Cour*, along with the works of Christine de Pizan and Alain Chartier.[2] Many of these works had been composed less than a century before, with the notable exception of the *Roman de la Rose* which had become a true vernacular classic, just as Jean de Meun, placing himself after Ovid in a long line of *auctores*, had intended.[3] Outside of the courtly sphere, publishers favored moral and satiric literature, ranging from the bawdy *Quinze joies de Mariage* to pious works such as the *Art de mourir* and their tragi-comic counterpoints like the *Farce de maistre Pathelin* or Villon's *Testament*, not to mention a vast production of calendars and almanacs.[4]

Of all the medieval literary genres, romance, with its ability to filter and recast myths and narrative motifs, was perhaps the most apt to survive the political upheavals and sociocultural transformations of the late Middle Ages. Among the first printed romances we find better-known episodes of Arthurian cycles such as *Lancelot* (1488), *Tristan* (1489), *Gauvain* (1493), and *Merlin* (1498), but also prose works emanating from the French epic tradition, such as *Le Roman de Fiérabras* (ca. 1480).[5] A century later, when chivalric romances were abandoned by booksellers in Paris and Lyons, a new form of

distribution developed that would ensure their survival. In 1602, Nicolas Oudot of Troyes began printing cheap booklets with recycled typeface and woodblocks on low-quality paper. Nearly 40 percent of Oudot's chapbooks—later to be known as the *Bibliothèque bleue*—were abridged versions of chivalric romances published during the preceding century, many of which derived from late medieval prosifications of epic materials such as *Doon de Mayence*, *Maugis d'Aygremont*, or the *Quatre fils Aymon*.[6] These in-quarto editions comprised of one to two hundred pages popularized medieval romance and epic sources memory of which would persist even beyond the eighteenth century.

The editorial trajectory of the *Melusine* attests to the vitality of medieval fictions throughout the early modern period. Circulated both orally and in writing, the story of the snake-bodied Melusine, founding mother of the Lusignan lineage, fascinated noble and vulgar audiences alike, making her way from the aristocratic Burgundian banquets to countryside "veillées" [evenings spent round the fire]—if one is to believe Noël du Fail's 1548 *Propos rustiques de maistre Léon Ladulfi, Champenois*.[7] Since Jacques Le Goff and Emmanuel Leroy-Ladurie's seminal article characterized the fairy as the godmother of feudality, several important studies have approached her story from an anthropological perspective, enlisting mythology and folklore to explain the structure and variations of the myth of Melusine the main elements of which include the alliance between a mortal and a fairy, the fatal flaw of the founding mother, and the transgression of the pact of secrecy on which the prosperity of the lineage is founded.[8] Mythocritical approaches to narrative do much to explain the fascination exerted by the fairy Melusine but obscure the extent to which poets, editors, and translators shaped the trajectory of the texts that introduced her to medieval audiences.[9]

Mapping the transformations of this genealogical romance from manuscript to chapbook is particularly complex, due to the existence of at least two distinct, competing versions of the story of Melusine. Coudrette, to whom we owe a version in verse composed after May 17, 1400, mentions as his vernacular sources not Jean d'Arras's prose version of 1393 but "deux beaux livres en latin qu'on fit translater en francois" [two beautiful Latin books that were translated into French], adding that the story had already been versified once "si comme en conte" [as they say].[10] Coudrette's poem became widely influential in Eastern and Northern Europe thanks to its 1456 German prose adaptation by Thüring von Ringoltingen. Just as Coudrette had insisted upon the new shape he lent to his material, so too the German adapter imprinted his mark on the story by naming himself and his patron in the work's prologue, and by commenting on his intention to translate not the letter but the spirit of the French text. Diminishing the authority of the source text, Thüring erases the very name of his author,

designating him as the "chaplain" of the duke of Parthenay.[11] The 1467 German *editio princeps* was based on Thüring's translation and gave rise to further Eastern European translations. As early as 1484, a parallel chapbook tradition developed around the *Schöne Melusine*, which went on to become a European *Volksbuch* with lasting appeal in Germany, Russia, and Scandinavia.

The success of Thüring's printed translation may have incited French-language publishers to rediscover the prose version that Jean d'Arras had composed at the end of the fourteenth century. Published in August 1478, the year printing was introduced in Geneva, Adam Steinschaber's *Melusine*[12] is one of the first two illustrated books printed in French, along with *Le mirouer de la rédemption de l'umain lignage* (Martin Husz: Lyons, 1478) which appeared the same month. With twenty-two editions between 1478 and 1597 (seven in Lyons, thirteen in Paris, and one in Rouen in addition to the *editio princeps*), the status of Jean d'Arras's *Melusine* as a "best seller" of sixteenth-century fiction is clear.[13] Six of these editions appeared before 1500 and at least another six in the first third of the new century, which may explain the swift outward migration of the work. A 1489 Castillian adaptation was produced in Toulouse by Juan Paris and Estevan Cleblat, followed by a 1526 peninsular version that the prestigious booksellers Juan and Jacobo Cromberger dedicated to the queen of Spain.[14] Jean d'Arras's romance crossed the English Channel as well, perhaps in Caxton's able hands. Preserved only in manuscript form, the English translation bears the following title, added in the seventeenth century: "Chronicle of Melusine in olde Englishe. Compyled by Ihon of Arras, and dedicated to the Duke of Berry and Auvergne, and translated (as yt shoulde seeme) out of Frenche into Englishe."[15]

A second European "best-seller" to come off the Genevan presses was *Olivier de Castille* (Geneva: Louis Cruse, 1482). The story revolves around two contracts: the friendship pact of two stepbrothers, Olivier and Artus of Algarbe, and the agreement Olivier concludes with a mysterious protector, trading half his possessions against the opportunity to win the hand of the king of England's daughter in a joust. As Danielle Régnier-Bohler has shown, the tightly structured plot weaves together two types of folktales, "The Two Brothers" and "The Grateful Dead"[16] in a dynastic narrative presenting a new model of contractual rulership and the fiction of a vast geopolitical space covering Castille, Portugal, England, and Ireland.[17] The first printed edition of *Olivier de Castille* (1482) is attributed to Louis Cruse, one of the most active early publishers in Geneva.[18] Ten years later the same printer produced an illustrated edition that supplements the story with a second prologue, a table of contents with updated rubrics, and an epilogue that rationalizes the fantastic elements of the tale. This refurbished version

was quickly followed by five more illustrated editions (Geneva, 1492–1497) before Parisian printers Trepperel (1504) and Richard le Noir (1505) caught on. *Olivier* saw three further editions in Paris (1520, 1546, 1587) and one in Rouen (ca. 1625) before joining the Oudot's *Bibliothèque bleue* in 1625. Translated into Spanish in 1499, it made its way into Flemish (ca. 1510), English (1518), German (1521), and Italian (ca. 1522).[19] But it was in Olivier's fictional fatherland that the romance met with greatest favor: in the fifty-odd years following the Burgos 1499 *editio princeps*, over ten editions appeared in the Iberian peninsula, where it would remain in print for nearly 450 years.

Melusine and *Olivier* share generic and thematic features which may help to explain their popularity during the transition from script to print. Unlike a large number of prose romances, these works were not transposed from rhymed verse but composed in prose during the late Middle Ages. Presenting no explicit links to the *matière* of Brittany, France, or Rome, they allowed for the creation of new models of heroism. Both *histoires* describe the territorial expansion of a lineage throughout Europe and the Mediterranean via marriage and conquest. Reflecting the esthetic, ethical, and political values of the medieval aristocracy, these tales of love and adventure would also appeal to a new readership that came to books through print and sought models of conduct, courtesy, and fine language in chivalric fiction. Thus, printers began to adapt literary materials for an enlarged, not exclusively aristocratic public eager to gain access to courtly models. As printer Louis Cruse states in the prologue to the second edition of *Olivier* (ca. 1492):

> Or est ainsi que maintenant les escriptures par l'ar & ingenieuse pratique de l'impression se multiplient par maniere que plusieurs beaulx et salutaires enseignemens & exemples desquels peu de gens avoient les livres et cognoissance maintenant sont mis avant et ottroyez a si petit pris que moindre ne se peult dire.[20]
>
> [So it is now that thanks to the artful and ingenious practice of printing, writings are multiplied in such a way that several handsome and beneficial teachings and examples of which few persons had the books and knowledge are now put forth and offered at the lowest price one can bargain for.]

The printer's emphasis on technological change contrasts with the conventional rhetoric of *utilitas*. By rendering "beneficial teachings" more accessible than ever, the new medium amplifies the exemplarity of the literary tale. At the same time, the fact that these examples now reach a much broader audience may require a more active role from those who transmit them: printers would not only need to guarantee readability, graphically and

through such textual interventions as *abbreviatio* or *amplificatio*, but also to assume hermeneutic forms of authority.

Circulation of *Melusine* and *Olivier* in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries demonstrates both the enduring appeal of medieval romance and the fundamental instability of authority, which is recast with each textual transformation. These changes, I argue, are most apparent in the paratext[21] in which publishers act to bridge the gap between script and print audiences and to mediate, in the case of translations, between one vernacular culture and the other. How do editorial interventions in print, implicit in the case of the *Melusine*, explicit in that of *Olivier*, alter these texts' enunciatory structure and modify the conditions of their reception? I study in particular changes brought to the prologue, a privileged site of authorial self-presentation and the place in which the text's value is negotiated.[22]

The author of *Melusine*, who will name himself only in the work's *explicit*—"Et cy se taist Jehan d'Arras de la noble histoire de Lusegnen"[23] [Here Jehan of Arras stops speaking of the noble story of Lusignan]—asserts his presence from the beginning of the story in a four-part prologue, conserved *in extenso* by all printed editions, including the seventeenth-century chapbooks. Throughout the prologue, verbs emphasizing agency and enunciation abound; in the first paragraph alone we find "requerir" [to request], "supplie" [I beseech], "histoire . . . achever" [to finish . . . the story], "ay commencé" [I began], "faire le traictié" [to write the treatise], "je commenceray" [I will begin], "ay fay" [I did], "ay sceu" [I learned], "prie" [I pray], "commençay" [I began], "supplie" [I beseech], "ay fay" [I did]. After commending himself and his work to God, "maistre de toutes les chose faictes et a faire," [master of all things done and which will be done] the author acknowledges his debt to his patron, the duke of Berry, who along with the duke of Salisbury had given the writer access to the "vraies croniques" [true chronicles] upon which he draws. The humility topos that follows is undermined by the repetition of the first-person pronoun, present no fewer than eleven times in the opening paragraph, with four occurrences in the final sentence alone: "Et suppli humblement a tous ceulx qui l'orront lire ou le liront, se *je* y mespren a leur gré en nulle maniere, qu'ilz me veuillent pardonner, car certainement *je* l'ay fait au plus justement que *j*'ay pu selon les croniques que *je* cuide estre vraies"[24] [I humbly beseech all those who will listen to or read my story, that if I fail in any way to flatter their tastes that they might forgive me, for surely I wrote it as judiciously as I was able to following the chronicles, which I believe to be true].

The second and third paragraphs of the prologue develop the idea of wonders (*merveilles*), the incomprehensibility of which bears witness to God's existence. The author submits his belief that "marvelous things of this wide world" are "most true" to the *auctoritas* of the Bible and the New

Testament but also to that of Aristotle and Gervais of Tilbury, whose *Otia Imperialia* exemplify in Le Goff's view "the scientific appropriation of the marvelous."[25] In Jean d'Arras's reading of Saint Paul's *Epistle to the Romans*, miraculous signs of God are progressively restricted to *mirabilia*, extraordinary events that men cannot fully understand but can grasp partially with the help of *auctores*, their elders, and personal experience. This learned excursus on the nature of wonders is followed by a fourth and final section which turns to the oral tradition of the "elders" whose tales will give the story the "colors of truth":

> Laissons les atteurs ester et racontons ce que nous avons ouy dire et raconter a noz anciens, et que cestuy jour nous oyons dire qu'on a veu ou pays de Poictou et ailleurs, pour coulourer nostre histoire a estre vraie, comme nous le tenons, et qui nous est publiée par les vrayes croniques.[26]
>
> [Let us leave the authors be and report what we have heard our elders say, things that even today we hear about as having been seen in the Poitou country or elsewhere, in order to paint our story in the true colors we think it deserves from what is made known to us by the true chronicles.]

References to the *atteurs* recede from the romance proper only to reappear in its epilogue, which recounts the marvelous apparition of Melusine at the siege of the Lusignan castle during the Hundred Years' War. The author apologizes for the "increable" [incredible] elements of his tale by deferring to learned tradition: "selon ce que j'ay trouvé et peu sentir des anciens autteurs, tant de Gervaise comme d'autres anciens autteurs et philosophes, je repute ceste histoire et la cronique a estre vraye"[27] [according to what I have found and understood of old authors, Gervaise and other old authors and philosophers, I believe this story and its chronicle to be true]. It should be noted that in his prologue Jean d'Arras makes a distinction between *les atteurs* and *nos anciens*, while in his epilogue he blends his sources together. What he calls *anciens autteurs* is a formulation vague enough to include Latin sources including folklore, like the *Otia Imperialia*, and anonymous sources both vernacular and oral, such as those mentioned in the prologue. Furthermore, use of Scripture in the prologue and epilogue creates a strong authorial voice, that of a clerk who posits reading as a form of experience that heightens one's ability to comprehend God's mysteries and emphasizes the writer's agency in seeking out wonders.

Fifteenth-century manuscripts and early editions of the *Melusine* will preserve the prologue's four-part structure and its careful articulation of *auctoritas* and pagan legends. For instance, in BnF MS fr. 1484, a late fifteenth-century manuscript that contains a text close to that of the *editio princeps*, rubrics identify the prologue ("Cy commance le prologue du livre de

Melusine en prose" [Here begins the prologue of the book of the prose Melusine]) and separate the second paragraph, presented as a biblical quote ("Allegance de david sus le prologue" [Invocation of David next to the prologue]), from the third, which bears the caption "l'acteur" [the author].[28] While it bears no rubrics, Steinschaber's edition visually preserves the discursive hiatus between the different sections of the prologue, thus maintaining the multilayered authorial persona of Jean d'Arras. In subsequent editions, however, as tightened page layout blurs the frontier between the prologue and the story proper, the author's voice tends to blend into that of the narrator. This is reflected, for instance, in the *Hystoire de Melusine* printed by Thomas du Guernier for Jehan Petit (BN res.Y2 177, ca. 1500), in which no specific graphic cues separate the author's prologue from the beginning of the story.

The discursive hierarchy among writer, narrator, and *auctores* reflected in the page layout of manuscripts and early editions disappears in editions produced around 1500, only to be reintroduced a century later by the popular "blue booklets." Even as the editorial conventions of the *Bibliothèque bleue* favored anonymity by not including the author's name on the title page, chapbook versions of *Melusine* preserved the wording and content of both prologue and epilogue.[29] In Nicolas Oudot's 1649 and 1660 editions, for instance, an ample page break and decorative motifs isolate the three-page prologue from the story's outset. Authorial voice in *Melusine* thus remained remarkably stable up to the 1698 rewriting by François Nodot, who praised "Jean Darras' " naive storytelling but replaced the original prologue by his own preface. It is indeed important to note that Jean d'Arras is acknowledged as the author of the original story in the explicit of all early printed editions of the romance, with the notable exception of the 1489 Spanish adaptation, in which his name was replaced by that of "the honorable and discerning German masters, Juan Paris and Estevan Cleblat," who present themselves as translators, editors, and publishers of an anonymous work.[30]

If the original prologue and epilogue of *Melusine* were preserved up to 1698, its narrative structure was torn apart as early as 1520, giving rise to two related but distinct works: the narrative of the legendary foundation of Lusignan by the fairy Melusine on the one hand, and the adventures of her son Geoffroy, heir of Lusignan, on the other. The structural opposition in the medieval romance between the serpentine mother and her sixth son was taken up by printers as much out of economic interest as for reasons of readability.[31] The earliest preserved example of severance between mother and son dates to the second in-quarto edition (Philippe le Noir ca. 1525), which deletes most episodes dealing with the exploits of Geoffroy.[32] Out of these amputated episodes, a new romance was born, first published as an autonomous work ca. 1530.[33] In contrast to the abridged *Melusine*, in which

missing passages are disguised by careful transitions, *Les gestes et faits, et notables conquestes du preux hardy & redouté Chevalier Geoffroy à la grant Dent* provides little more than a patchwork of episodes hastily stitched together by an anonymous storyteller and fronted by a new prologue laden with epic commonplaces. Capitalizing on the success of family sagas like *Amadis of Gaul* and its sequels, the two companion romances derived from Jean d'Arras' work would be among the most popular titles in the *Bibliothèque bleue*.[34]

The trajectory of *Olivier* in print reveals distinct forms of intervention, largely concentrated in the paratext. Printed four years after Steinschaber's *Melusine*, the Burgundian romance had a less established iconographic and textual tradition and thus left publishers significant leeway. By recasting the romance's discursive structure, editorial interventions emphasize the exemplarity of the text to the detriment of the authority of the medieval composer. I focus here on the ways in which successive editions and translations of the romance reframe the chivalric narrative.

Olivier de Castille is preserved in six closely related manuscripts. Its prologue records a key transformation in authorial voice: a liminary formula that combines the first-person pronoun and the name of the speaker—elements that remained separate until the fourteenth century—followed by a verb that refers to the act of composition:[35] "Je phylippe camus esperant la tressainte grace ay entreprins de translater ceste presente histoire" [I, Philippe Camus, have undertaken to translate the present story, hoping for divine grace]. In five of the six extant manuscripts of *Olivier*, all closely related, the writer claims to have translated the story from the Latin at the request of "Jhean de Ceroy seigneur Chunay," chamberlain of the duke of Burgundy, "non regardant de la coucher en autre ou plus bel langaige que le latin le porte, car ce eusse peu faillir de legier"[36] [not trying to put it in a more beautiful wording than it was in Latin, for I would have surely failed to do so]. In a sixth, richly illuminated manuscript dedicated to Philippe Le Bon, duke of Burgundy,[37] the signature is replaced by "je, David Aubert, clerc" (fol. 1v).[38] Not only is the author's identity transformed but also the very nature of his task: Aubert states that he has "couchié ceste histoire en cler francois au sens litteral non regardant d'y vouloir adjouster autre chose que l'istoire ne porte" [written down the story in clear French, following the literal meaning and taking care not to add anything that the story does not contain]. Was Aubert trying to present the text in BnF MS fr. 12574 as his own, or was he simply acting as a compiler entrusted with the material production of this particular manuscript? The manuscript's opening rubric, written under the clerk's supervision, identifies this section as the "Prologue de l'acteur," a designation that suggests Aubert was claiming, if not authorship, at least some extratextual authority distinct from that of the scribe.

Whereas the *editio princeps* of *Olivier* (Geneva: Louis Cruse, 1482) closely follows the narrative structure of the story preserved in the five manuscripts signed by Camus, the first illustrated edition (Geneva: Louis Cruse, ca. 1492) shows significant reorganization and reflects a growing awareness of the printer's role. In the preface added to the illustrated edition, Cruse praises the "ingenious practice of printing" which makes available at diminished cost the "auctoritez des saints et sages" [the authority of saints and wise men] and the "hystoires et exemples dignes de commemoration" [stories and examples worthy of being remembered]. The "hystoire . . . longtemps escrite" [the story . . . written long ago] of Olivier was one of such "beaulx et salutaires enseignemens" [beautiful and beneficial teachings] revitalized by printing. After proclaiming the exemplarity of the tale, the printer, writing under the trade name "Garbin," spells out some of his duties:

> Or est ainsi que apres que la dicte hystoire fut premier imprimee c'est trouvee incorrecte en aulcuns lieux et imparfaite et aussi que les intitulations des chapitres ne sembloient pas partout contenir le cas clerement. Et pour ce que Maistre loys garbin cytoyen et imprimeur de geneve a este par aulcuns solicite de l'imprimer a la decoration de l'hystoire et visible delectation des liseurs et a la consolation des desirans.[39]
>
> [It so happens that upon its first printing the story was in many a place incorrect and imperfect and also that the chapter headings did not clearly describe its contents. And this is why Master Louis Garbin, citizen and printer of Geneva, was asked to print it to better illustrate the story, for the visible delectation of readers and to console those in want.]

The printer takes pains to present his work not as a private commercial initiative but as a response to public demand for an improved version. He describes, in the third person, the textual and paratextual interventions undertaken to enhance readability. These include not only emending the text where faulty but also adjusting rubrics and chapter divisions without compromising the integrity of the text ("Et sans adjouster oster ne diminuer" [And without adding, suppressing or reducing]). The reader's pleasure and understanding of the *hystoire* is further enhanced by iconography, composed of forty-one woodcuts (either at the top of the page or immediately below the rubric), including two chilling images placed side by side that show Olivier lopping off the heads of his children and collecting their blood for Artus to drink.

Paratextual additions—the printer's preface, table of contents, rubrics, and epilogue—provide hermeneutic cues.[40] The "briesve et utile epilogation" [brief and useful epilogue], identified in the rubrics as the final chapter, is particularly revealing in this regard. Like Jean d'Arras, the editor uses the teachings of the *auctoritates* to legitimate his own practice: "Aristote le

philosophe dit que les choses qui sont separees s'entendent et cognoissent mieulx distinctement. Pour la quelle cause la table a este faite et mise au commencement du present livre pour mieulx l'entendre"[41] [The philosopher Aristotle says that things that are separate are understood and known more distinctly. For this very reason the table of contents was made and placed at the beginning of the book for better comprehension]. The main function of the epilogue is to account for the marvelous elements in the tale. For instance, the passage in which Olivier kills his children in order to heal his faithful companion is compared to Abraham's sacrifice; this gives rise to two competing explanations: either the children died and were resurrected or an illusion of which the Bible contains many examples prevented Olivier from doing them harm. The paratextual apparatus of this revised edition thus constructs a metatextual didactic voice framing the original narrative and Camus's prologue.

The Spanish *editio princeps* (Burgos: [Fadrique de Basilea], 1499), which includes a preface, table of contents, rubrics, and epilogue, closely follows the text and iconography of the illustrated French edition.[42] However, the "presentacion e introite" that contained Camus's textual signature is missing, as well as the entire section of the preface where "Maistre loys garbin" introduces himself and describes the corrections made to the first edition. While it does not acknowledge the printer's role in the transmission of *Olivier*, the Spanish adaptation borrows his praise of the "savvy and fruitful art of printing," (fol. 2r) which now is placed in the service of translators. The second half of the preface explains the origins of the story, emphasizing patronage over authorship: "E fu la dicha ystoria por excelencia levada enel reyno de Francia & venida en poder del generoso & famoso cavallero don Johan de Ceroy . . . & la translado El honrrado varon Felipe Camus"[43] [This excellent story was brought to the Kingdom of France and came into possession of John of Ceroy . . . and it was translated by the honorable man Felipe Camus]. Unlike *Historia de la Linda Melosina*, the adaptation of *Olivier* does not provide the name of the Spanish translator, mentioning in vague terms that the story was translated from the French at the request of Castilian gentlemen. Camus's signature is preserved in Spanish editions up to the turn of the eighteenth century, when authorship is unexpectedly transferred to one "Pedro de la Floresta," as attested in the title pages of editions produced between 1726 and 1841.[44] During the latter half of the nineteenth century, literary historians in both France and Spain thought *Oliveros* to have been originally composed in Spanish by Camus, who thus became the fictional author not only of *Oliveros*, but also of *La historia del muy valiente y esforçado cavallero Clamades*, the story of another heir to the kingdom of Castile whose French origins, like those of Olivier, had been all but forgotten.[45]

Olivier's author met with more modest fortunes across the English Channel, where the story of the two knights was printed by Wynkyn de Worde, Caxton's successor.[46] While adopting the paratextual divisions of the French second edition and closely following the first two paragraphs of Garbin's preface, the English 1518 *editio princeps* makes no mention of prior editions in any language. The translator thus suggests—by omission—that he or De Worde resurrected Olivier's story: "And amonge the other hystoryes is one founde a longe tyme written."[47] Adding insult to injury, Camus's contribution is also erased from the record, for if it follows Camus's *captatio benevolentiae* word for word, the "presentacyon and introyte of this present booke" makes room neither for the French writer nor for his patron:

> I Henry Watson apprentyse of London trustynge in the grace of god hathe enterprysed for to translate this present hystorye out of Frensshe in to Englysshe oure moders tongue at the commaundement of my worshypfull master Wynkyn de Worde not havynge regarde for to laye it in more dyffused termes than the Frensshe dothe specyfye for in doynge so I myght lyghtly haue fayled.[48]

The translator's *presentacyon* reenacts the medieval scene of dedication between author and patron the better to displace the primal figures of authorship. Just as Watson replaces Camus, so does his *master* take up the role of Camus's aristocratic patron Jean de Croÿ; in parallel fashion, French becomes to English what Latin was to French. By mimicking the communicative contract of the medieval manuscript, the dedication sidelines the role of the public, the group of readers and listeners born with print culture to whom Cruse had originally addressed his preface.

What conclusions can be drawn from the adventures of *Melusine* and *Olivier* in the age of print? From manuscript to chapbook, the two romances were subjected to structural and discursive mutations that modified their conditions of reception. In the case of *Melusine*, editorial interventions resulted in the creation of two related but distinct narratives even though the text's prologue and epilogue were preserved from one edition to the next. *Olivier*, by contrast, elicited a voluminous paratext that elucidates and updates the original narrative. Cruse's preface (ca. 1492) in particular offers a rare early example of a printer explicitly presenting editorial techniques in the service of *docere* [teaching] and *delectare* [delighting]. Transmission histories of *Melusine* and *Olivier* thus provide valuable clues into the reception of medieval narratives in the early modern period. If the development of new forms of textual organization prompted by printing contributed to the reconfiguration of medieval narratives to better serve the needs of a more diverse audience, authorial self-presentation remained

remarkably stable, until the turn of the seventeenth century when medieval prologues and paratext added by printers were often replaced by summary or paraphrasis. In the chain of transmission of romances such as *Melusine* and *Olivier*, artistic rivalry was felt not between book producers and medieval authors, but rather between publishers who worked in succession on the same medieval texts. This competition was particularly intense in cases crossing national or linguistic boundaries, where deliberate omission of authorial marks and erasure of paratextual signatures were the norm. In the generic context of the late medieval romance, the author is largely a figure of the text whose self-representation does not conflict with the new authorial roles assumed by publishers. Building on both scriptural practices and the vernacular poetics of authorship, early modern editors were able to inscribe their names and agency in the liminary spaces of the book more assertively than had medieval copyists.

Notes

1. Jacques Dalarun, "Table ronde conclusive," in *Auctor & Auctoritas: Invention et conformisme dans l'écriture médiévale*, ed. Michel Zimmermann (Paris: École des Chartes, 2001), pp. 571–573.
2. Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *L'apparition du livre* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1958, 1999), p. 361.
3. Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *Le Roman de la Rose*, ed. A. Strubel (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1992), v. 10526. See Pierre-Yves Badel, *Le Roman de la Rose au XIVe siècle: Étude de la réception de l'œuvre* (Geneva: Droz, 1980), p. 165.
4. Febvre and Martin, *L'apparition du livre*, p. 362.
5. *Histoire de l'édition française. I. Le livre conquérant. Du Moyen Age au milieu du XVIIe siècle*, ed. Roger Chartier and Henri-Jean Martin (Paris: Fayard, 1982), p. 211.
6. Roger Chartier, *Lectures et lecteurs dans la France d'Ancien régime* (Paris: Seuil, 1982, 1987), pp. 110–111.
7. *Conteurs français du XVIe siècle*, ed. Pierre Jourda (Paris: Gallimard, 1965), pp. 620–621.
8. Jean-Jacques Vincensini includes a selected bibliography of critical studies on *Mélusine* in his edition *Mélusine ou La Noble Histoire de Lusignan* (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 2003).
9. On the structure of "Melusinian myths," see Claude Lecouteux, "La structure des légendes mélusiniennes," *Annales Économies, sociétés, civilisations* 2 (1978): 294–306; Laurence Harf-Lancner, *Les Fées au Moyen Âge. Morgane et Mélusine ou la naissance des fées* (Paris: Champion, 1984); Jean-Jacques Vincensini, *Pensée mythique et narrations médiévales* (Paris: Champion, 1996).
10. Coudrette, *Le Roman de Mélusine ou Histoire de Lusignan*, ed. Eleanor Roach (Paris: Klincksieck, 1982), pp. 109–110. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations from the Old French and Spanish are mine.

11. *Melusine*, ed. Karin Schneider (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1958), p. 36. "So hab ich, Türing von Ringgoltingen von Bern uß Oechtland, ein zumol seltzen und gar wunderlich frömde hystorien funder in franckzoyser sprach . . ." [I, Thüring von Ringoltingen of Bern in Üchtland, found a story both strange and very surprising written in French . . .]. A survey of the European reception of Jean d'Arras' and Coudrette's *Mélusine* is included in Thüring de Ringoltingen, *Mélusine et autres récits*, trans. Claude Lecouteux (Paris: Champion, 1999).
12. The only extant copy of the 1478 Steinschaber edition is preserved in the Herzog August Bibliothek (Wolfenbüttel, Germany). I have consulted it in a facsimile edition: *L' Histoire de la belle Mélusine de Jean d'Arras*, ed. Wilhelm Joseph Meyer (Bern: Société Suisse des Bibliophiles, 1923–1924).
13. Laurence Harf-Lancner, "Le Roman de Mélusine et le Roman de Geoffroy à la grand dent: les éditions imprimées de l'œuvre de Jean d'Arras," *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et de Renaissance* 50: 2 (1988): 358 [349–366].
14. Both *Melusine* (1526) and *Olivier* (1535) were listed in the Crombergers' catalogue. On this "dynasty of printers" active from 1503 to 1553, see Clive Griffin, *The Crombergers of Seville: The History of a Printing and Merchant Dynasty* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988). Father and son specialized in quality editions, producing "some of the best printing in Spanish sixteenth-century typography" (Juan Delgado Casado, *Diccionario de impresores españoles (siglos XV-XVII)* [Madrid: Arco Libros, 1996], p. 170). One of Juan Cromberger's employees, Juan Pablos, brought printing to America.
15. *Melusine compiled (1382–1394) by Jean d'Arras englisht about 1500. Edited from a unique manuscript in the Library of the Bristish Museum*, ed. A. K. Donald (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1895), p. 1.
16. Danielle Régnier-Bohler, "Tradition et structures nouvelles chez Philippe Camus: la genèse de *L'histoire d'Olivier de Castille et Artus d'Algarbe*," in *Actes du Ve colloque international sur le Moyen français* III (1986): 54 [54–72].
17. See also D. Régnier-Bohler, "Le monarque et son double: la légende des Deux Frères à la cour de Bourgogne, *L'histoire d'Olivier de Castille et d'Artus d'Algarbe*," *Revue des sciences humaines* 183 (1981): 109–123; and D. Régnier-Bohler, "Béances de la terre et du temps: la dette et le pacte dans le motif du Mort reconnaissant au Moyen Âge," *L'homme* 111–112 (July–December 1989): 161–178.
18. Antal Lökkös, "La production des romans et des récits aux premiers temps de l'imprimerie genevoise," in *Cinq siècles d'imprimerie genevoise: actes du Colloque international sur l'histoire de l'imprimerie et du livre à Genève 27–30 avril 1978*, ed. Jean-Daniel Candaux and Bernard Lescaze, 2 vols. (Geneva: Société d'histoire et d'archéologie, 1980), p. 20 [15–30].
19. R. Foulché-Delbosc, "Review of *La historia de los nobles cavalleros Oliveros de castilla y artus dalgarbe*," *Revue Hispanique* 9 (1902): 590 [587–595]. *The hystorye of Olyuer of Castylle*, ed. Gail Orgelfinger (New York: Garland, 1988), pp. 247–253.
20. I have consulted BnF Rés Y2 143 in microfilm. D. Régnier-Bohler provides a transcription of the publisher's prologue and epilogue in " 'Pour ce que la

memoire est labille . . .': le cas exemplaire d'un imprimeur de Genève, Louis Garbin," *Le Moyen Français* 24–25 (1990): 210–211 [187–213].

21. Gérard Genette, *Seuils* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1987), pp. 7–8. On "paratextual interaction" between writers and publishers in early print culture see Cynthia Brown, *Poets, Patrons and Printers. Crisis of Authority in Late Medieval France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), pp. 61–79.
22. Following Jean-Luc Solère in *Entrer en matière: les prologues*, ed. Jean-Daniel Dubois and Bernard Roussel (Paris: Cerf, 1998), pp. 306–310, Jean-Claude Mühlethaler opposes the rhetorical nature of the preface to the "axiomatic" function of the prologue in *Seuils de l'œuvre dans le texte médiéval*, ed. Emmanuèle Baumgartner and Laurence Harf-Lancner, 2 vols. (Paris: Presses de la Sorbonne nouvelle, 2002), 1: 224–225. This distinction is implicit in my opposition between authorial prologue and editorial paratext.
23. Jean d'Arras, *Mélusine: roman du XIVe siècle*, ed. Louis Stouff (Geneva: Slatkine, 1974), p. 312.
24. Jean d'Arras, *Mélusine*, p. 4.
25. Jacques Le Goff, *L'imaginaire médiéval* (Paris: Gallimard, 1985), p. 27.
26. Jean d'Arras, *Mélusine*, p. 3.
27. Jean d'Arras, *Mélusine*, p. 310.
28. On the opposition between writer (*actor*) and authority (*auctor)* in classical culture and the medieval tradition of commentary, see Alastair Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages* (London: Scolar Press, 1984), p. 26, 157. On the semantic shifts of *acteur* in Middle French see Brown, *Poets*, pp. 203–206.
29. The Troyes editions of *Melusine* have been commented by Lise Andries, "*Mélusine* et *Orson*: deux réécritures de la Bibiothèque bleue," in *La bibliothèque bleue et les littératures de colportage*, ed. Thierry Delcourt and Elisabeth Parinet (Paris: École des Chartes, 2000), pp. 78–92; and, in the same collection of essays, by Hélène Bouquin, "L'illustration du *Roman de Mélusine* dans la bibliothèque bleue," pp. 138–147.
30. For a comparison of the 1489 and 1526 Spanish editions see Alan D. Deyermond, "*La historia de la linda Melosina*: Two Spanish Versions of a French Romance," in *Medieval Hispanic Studies Presented to Rita Hamilton*, ed. Alan D. Deyermond (London: Tamesis Book Ltd., 1976), pp. 57–65; *Historia de la linda Melosina*, ed. Ivy A. Corfis (Madison: The Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1986), pp. v-xi; and Ana Pairet, "Histoire, métamorphose et poétique de la réecriture: les traductions espagnoles du *Roman de Mélusine* (XVe-XVIe siècles)," in *Le mythe de Mélusine dans la littérature et dans les arts*, ed. Arlette Bouloumié (Paris: L'âge d'homme, 2002), pp. 47–55.
31. On this mother/son polarity, see S. Roblin, "Le sanglier et la serpente, Geoffroi à la grand dent dans l'histoire des Lusignan," in *Métamorphose et bestiaire fantastique au Moyen Âge* (Paris: École Normale Supérieure de jeunes filles, 1985) pp. 245–285; and Harf-Lancner "Le Roman de Mélusine," pp. 349–366.
32. Harf-Lancner, "Le Roman de Mélusine", p. 361.
33. Harf-Lancner, "Le Roman de Mélusine", p. 363.

34. Alfred Morin, *Catalogue descriptif de la bibliothèque bleue de Troyes (almanachs exclus)* (Geneva: Droz, 1974), pp. 307–309; 328–329.
35. According to Christiane Marchello-Nizia, this formula, in which the name of the speaker is generally followed by a nominal group declining his social identity, originates in legal discourse and first appears in the prologue to historiographical works such as Joinville's 1309 *Life of Saint Louis*. "L'Historien et son prologue: forme littéraire et stratégies discursives," in *La Chronique et l'Histoire au Moyen Age*, ed. Daniel Poirion (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1984), pp. 13–25. On the variety and poetic function of "textual signatures" in the late medieval period, see Brown, *Poets*, pp. 153–157.
36. I quote from BnF MS fr. 1484, which contains a text close to that of the *editio princeps*.
37. BnF MS fr. 12574, ca. 1469.
38. The signature "David Aubert" appears in 43 manuscripts produced under his supervision, four of which indicate that he copied them himself (*manu propria*). The expression "clerc" is only recorded two other times in combination with Aubert's name. In the manuscripts of *Chronique normande* and *Perceforest*, two autograph manuscripts copied the same year (1459), Aubert calls himself "clerc" and "escripvain" respectively. The expression used to introduce himself in *Perceforest*, is close to the one used in Olivier: "*Je David Aubert* comme l'escripvain, me suis emploié de mettre au net et *en cler francois* certaines anciennes histoires" [I, David Aubert, the writer, have endeavored to copy certain ancient stories in clear and concise French.] See Richard Straub, *David Aubert, escripvain et clerc* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995), pp. 35, 76, 278–279.
39. I quote from BnF Rés Y2 143.
40. Régnier-Bohler, " 'Pour ce que la memoire," pp. 202–203.
41. BnF Rés Y2 143. See also the transcription in D. Régnier-Bohler, "Pour ce que la mémoire."
42. R. Foulché-Delbosc, "Review of *La historia*," pp. 590–591.
43. *La historia delos nobles caualleros Oliueros de Castilla y Artus díAlgarve. From Romance to Chapbook: The Making of a Tradition*, ed. Ivy Corfis, (Madison: The Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1997), p. 45. All subsequent references are taken from this edition.
44. *La historia delos nobles caualleros*, pp. 31–34.
45. Foulché-Delbosc, "Review of *La historia*," pp. 587–595. Miguel Ángel Frontón, "Del *Olivier de Castille* al *Oliveros de Castilla*: anâlisis de una adaptación caballeresca," *Criticón* 46 (1989): 64 [63–76].
46. *The hystorye of Olyuer of Castylle*, ed. Gail Orgelfinger (New York: Garland, 1988), p. XIII.
47. *The hystorye of Olyuer of Castylle*, p. 2.
48. *The hystorye of Olyuer of Castylle*, p. 12.

CHAPTER 11

WHAT HAPPENED TO MEDIEVALISTS AFTER THE DEATH OF THE AUTHOR?

Virginie Greene

"La naissance du lecteur doit se payer de la mort de l'Auteur" [The birth of the reader must be achieved at the cost of the death of the Author].[1] Thus ends Roland Barthes's short essay "The Death of the Author,"[2] in which, to their dismay, readers learn that they do not exist so long as they believe that the Author exists, and that they are not truly reading until they realize the Author's tyranny over them and depose Him. Yet it is unclear from Barthes's essay whether readers should rise up *pour faire la Révolution* [to revolt] or simply celebrate the demise of the Author as the term of an inescapable evolution. Is Barthes's essay a call to arms or an oracle?

Probably both. On one hand, "The Death of the Author" declared war against certain persons or institutions that, at the time he wrote it, Barthes loathed. On the other hand, the essay should be read as a part of the meditation on life, death, reading, and writing that Barthes pursued throughout his career. Although Barthes wrote "The Death of the Author"—there is no dispute over this attribution—the essay has become so emblematic that it can also be read as an anonymous pamphlet. What speaks through Barthes's voice could be named *Mai 68*, Structuralism, Poststructuralism, Deconstruction, French Theory, New Criticism, *Nouveau Roman*, or, to summarize, the spirit of the Sixties. "The Death of the Author" is a dated text, just like *J'accuse*—both texts being essential to our understanding of an important historical moment and its aftermath.

Attuned to the militant ambiguity of the Sixties, Barthes affirmed simultaneously that the Author is dead, quite dead, almost dead, like dead, soon to be dead. In so doing, he held up a giant puppet named "The Author" as

a symbol of critical conservatism and a target for the arrows of radical criticism. However, as Seán Burke has remarked, such a conception of the author is hard to find in the traditions of literary criticism preceding Barthes.[3] In 1968 like in 1868, even the most provincial, narrowminded, or traditionalist *professeur de lettres* would not have gone so far as to grant the author, or any particular author, the "empire" and the "tyranny" that Barthes claimed to overthrow. I wonder who, in modern times, would have believed that a text is made of "une ligne de mots, dégageant un sens unique, en quelque sorte théologique (qui serait le 'message' de l'Auteur-Dieu)" [made of a line of words, expressing a unique meaning, theological so to speak, which would be the "message" of the Author-God].[4] Barthes states that the omnipotent Author is a post-medieval creation linked to the modern invention of individuality.[5] However, his Author recalls the medieval notion of authorship in the specific context of the Scriptures. And yet, even within a truly theological and authoritarian mindset, the notion of the author was far from being simple or unified, as is manifest in medieval debates about David and Salomon's authorship of some parts of the Bible.[6] In what way then could Barthes's Author—dead or alive—be of any interest for medievalists? "The Death of the Author" asked no questions and gave no answers directly relevant to interpreters of medieval literature. But Barthes's essay did provoke questions, revisions, and dissent, applicable to all domains of literary inquiry, including the Middle Ages.

In February 1969, Michel Foucault presented a paper entitled "What is an author?" at the *Société française de Philosophie*.[7] Obviously, Foucault did not consider the author to be dead, since he asked "What is" and not "What was." Although it is highly implausible that Foucault had not read "The Death of the Author," he did not mention the name "Barthes" a single time. But it was to Barthes that Foucault alluded when he observed flippantly, "l'effacement de l'auteur est devenu, pour la critique, un thème désormais quotidien" [the erasure of the author has now become for critics a daily theme][8] and "la marque de l'écrivain n'est plus que la singularité de son absence; il lui faut tenir le rôle du mort dans l'écriture. Tout cela est connu; et il y a beau temps que la critique et la philosophie ont pris acte de cette disparition ou de cette mort de l'auteur" [the mark of the writer is reduced to nothing more than the singularity of his absence; he must assume the role of the dead man in the game of writing. None of this is recent; criticism and philosophy took note of the disappearance—or death—of the author some time ago.][9] Through such remarks, the philosopher Foucault denied the critic Barthes paternity of the idea of the author's death. Foucault was probably right to claim that the idea was in the air before Barthes gave it a pithy formulation. For Foucault, who had announced the death of man in his 1966 book *The Order of Things*,[10] the death of the author might have

sounded like a pale remake. Nothing must be more annoying than to see one's own revolutionary ideas become mainstream.

However, the essay "What is an author?" did something more important than express Foucault's annoyance at being outdone or watered down. It demonstrated the philosopher's ability to revise his previous conviction without recanting. Instead of a call to arms, an elegy, or a prophecy, "What is an author?" offers a program for scholarly work:

> Mais il ne suffit pas, évidemment, de répéter comme affirmation vide que l'auteur a disparu. De même, il ne suffit pas de répéter indéfiniment que Dieu et l'homme sont morts d'une mort conjointe. Ce qu'il faudrait faire, c'est repérer l'espace ainsi laissé vide par la disparition de l'auteur, suivre de l'œil la répartition des lacunes et des failles, et guetter les emplacements, les fonctions libres que cette disparition fait apparaître.[11]
>
> [It is not enough, however, to repeat the empty affirmation that the author has disappeared. For the same reason, it is not enough to keep repeating (after Nietzsche) that God and man have died a common death. Instead, we must locate the space left empty by the author's disappearance, follow the distribution of gaps and breaches, and watch for the openings that this disappearance uncovers.]

Foucault listed four directions of research: (1) the name of the author (what makes it different from any other sort of name); (2) the relation of appropriation between an author and a text; (3) the relation of attribution between an author and a corpus of texts constituted as an *opus*; (4) the position of the author as expressed in his or her own books through prologues or constructed figures such as the narrator, the copyist, the singer, or the memorialist, and also the position of the author in various types of discourses.[12] The second heading, "the relation of appropriation," is the least relevant to medieval literature because, as Foucault explained, the appropriation of a text is a form of property that was legally defined after the Middle Ages.[13] Whatever relationship we may conceive between a medieval author and a medieval text, *appropriation* is not an adequate term to describe it. But the three other headings—namely, the name of the author, the attribution of a corpus to an author, and the various figures of the author—are entirely pertinent to the medieval field.

At the end of his essay Foucault reverted to the lyric and oracular tone that colors the end of *The Order of Things*, albeit in a more sober fashion. Like Barthes, he predicted the disappearance of "the author-function" but he did not announce the birth of the reader. According to Foucault, readers would read texts with other questions in mind:

> On n'entendrait plus les questions si longtemps ressassées: "Qui a réellement parlé? Est-ce bien lui et nul autre? Avec quelle authenticité, ou quelle originalité?

> Et qu'a-t-il exprimé du plus profond de lui-même dans son discours?" Mais d'autres comme celles-ci: "Quels sont les modes d'existence de ce discours? D'où a-t-il été tenu, comment peut-il circuler, et qui peut se l'approprier? Quels sont les emplacements qui y sont ménagés pour des sujets possibles? Qui peut remplir ces diverses fonctions de sujet?" Et derrière toutes ces questions, on n'entendrait guère que le bruit d'une indifférence: "Qu'importe qui parle?"[14]
>
> [We would no longer hear the questions that have been rehashed for so long: "Who really spoke? Is it really he and not someone else? With what authenticity or originality? And what part of his deepest self did he express in his discourse?" Instead, there would be other questions, like these: "What are the modes of existence of this discourse? Where has it been used, how can it circulate, and who can appropriate it for himself? What are the places in it where there is room for possible subjects? Who can assume these various subject-functions?" And behind all these questions, we would hear hardly anything but the stirring of an indifference: "What difference does it make who is speaking"]

This new set of questions resonated well with medievalists, although Foucault certainly did not have them in mind when he wrote. It seems as if both Foucault and Barthes projected onto the future a distorted image of a repressed past not yet part of leading French intellectuals' discourse.[15] Barthes and Foucault needed the Middle Ages in order to historicize their views of the author more accurately as much as medievalists needed Barthes and Foucault to make their field more conversant with contemporary culture. Barthes's essay provided a general spirit of renewal and revision in the field of literary criticism, just as his own criticism proposed both a deconstruction and a reconstruction of the notion of author in relation to *l'écriture*.[16] In Foucault's essay, medievalists found a conceptual frame which allowed them to investigate the notions of author, authorship, and discourse within a historical context perceived as a complete system worthy of interest in itself, and not as the eternal forerunner of later developments.

It is easy now for us to see the limitations of both Barthes's and Foucault's approaches to texts. The former can lead critics to take vagueness and lyricism for inventive scholarship and to replace worship of the Author with worship of *l'Ecriture*. The latter can induce scholars to turn into a fixed system what has been a lived reality, a chunk of human activity submitted to change, ambiguities, mistakes, accidents, and death. However, it would be unfair and untrue to underestimate Barthes's and Foucault's contributions to the renewal of medieval studies, whether these have been acknowledged by medievalists or not. Barthes's and Foucault's propositions for change found fertile soil in the medieval field because this field had already evolved considerably since the nineteenth century. Medievalists starting their careers in the 1950s or 1960s may have considered their discipline to be hopelessely dusty and dominated by positivist dinosaurs, but in truth they were not the first generation to desire change or to question habits.[17]

What perhaps had not changed much between the days of Gaston Paris and 1960 was medievalists' style. I will not retrace here the whole history of French medieval studies, but in order to better understand what medievalists do with their authors and the notion of authorship now thirty-five years after the Author was declared dead, I focus on a man and on a debate. This man is Paul Zumthor, who, in his own writings, has reflected upon his long career and the changes that affected him along the road. The debate was started around 1980 and involved several scholars—such as Bernard Cerquiglini, Roger Dragonetti, and Alexandre Leupin—who submitted the notion of author and text to a radical examination.

Paul Zumthor was born in 1915 and died in 1995. His thesis on the character Merlin, published in 1943 appears today as a solid piece of erudite scholarship not so different from what medievalists wrote before the war.[18] In *Speaking of the Middle Ages*, Zumthor made scathing remarks about the obsession with sources that characterized his mentors, adding, "dans ma thèse, in 1943, je me rendais confusément compte de ces malentendus et tentais avec maladresse de les éviter" [in 1943, in my thesis, I was already becoming vaguely aware of these misapprehensions and trying clumsily to avoid them].[19] In fact, he did more than avoid them: Zumthor openly declared that the object of his study was a corpus of literary texts that he was investigating as such, and not as documents for mythological or linguistic reconstruction:

> C'est donc ici strictement un travail d'histoire littéraire. L'étude y porte sur des textes effectivement écrits, et les questions auxquelles elle cherche à répondre, sont, répétons-le, de l'ordre de la composition littéraire, non de la recherche des sources en tant que matériaux bruts. Ce qui nous importe le plus est le témoignage des textes originaux tels quels.[20]
>
> [This is strictly a work of literary history. This study is concerned by texts that have truly been written, and the questions it tries to answer are—to insist again—a matter of literary composition, and not a matter of searching for sources as raw material. What is most important to us is the witness of original texts as they are.]

Zumthor was not the first to move in this direction; he had precursors in scholars such as Joseph Bédier,[21] Douglas Bruce, and Jean Frappier,[22] whose priority was to create a corpus of medieval texts that would be read and interpreted as literary texts. One of the problems they encountered was the lack of authorial figures likely to be placed on the list of *grands auteurs* of French literature: Turoldus cannot figure on a par with Hugo; however, *La Chanson de Roland* can very well figure on a par with *La Légende des Siècles* (Hugo himself would not have objected). According to Frappier, some passages in the anonymous romance *La Mort Artu* were comparable to nothing

less than Racine's tragedies.[23] In order to make such a comparison possible, Frappier needed to shift from a canon of *grands auteurs* to a canon of *grands textes*. That shift could have been a first step on the road leading to the death of the Author, although Frappier and Zumthor neither anticipated nor wished for such an outcome. They still assumed that if there is a literary work, there must be an author or a writer who produced it. Zumthor said about Merlin:

> Il faut cesser de voir dans le personnage le représentant d'une authentique tradition celtique; il n'est qu'une création purement littéraire, œuvre de clercs qui d'une manière très consciente en ont choisi et travaillé les matériaux. Aussi bien, de la plupart de ceux-ci l'identité exacte est encore indéterminée.[24]
>
> [We must cease to see in this character the epitome of an authentic celtic tradition; he is a purely literary creation, the work of clerks who consciously chose and reworked their materials. Indeed, the identity of most of these clerks is still unknown.]

Zumthor acknowledged that medievalists generally have no information about the identity or biography of medieval authors, but he affirmed that medievalists have a witness to authors' self-conscious literary skills in the form of the texts themselves. Those who created the character of Merlin were not just careless copyists compiling and garbling traditions they did not understand.

For those medievalists who wanted to consider the texts they studied as literature, the question of the author was a secondary point easily hidden behind the question of the text. Zumthor and other medievalists of his generation constructed an author-text entity quite difficult to disentangle or to explain, but it provided them an efficient tool with which to analyze their texts. Since they could not explain *l'œuvre par l'homme* [the work by the man], they explained *l'œuvre par l'œuvre* [the work by the work], or at times *l'homme par l'œuvre* [the man by the work]. The peculiarities of medieval literature led medievalists to grant texts preeminence over authors, a move that can be seen as anticipating the general attack against the Author that erupted in the Sixties. It is also striking that Zumthor chose the character of Merlin as his first theme of research for, as Anne Berthelot has argued, Merlin is the most complex writer-figure in medieval literature.[25] Although Zumthor did not focus on this aspect of Merlin, he stressed the importance of the corpus of prophecies allegedly authored by Merlin. Zumthor even came to think that "Merlin se tient à la disposition des auteurs comme un instrument du métier littéraire, auquel on peut avoir recours dans certains cas." [Merlin is available to authors as a tool of the literary trade, which can be used in certain cases].[26]

In 1954, Zumthor published *Histoire littéraire de la France médiévale*. In its short preface, there is not a single mention of *author*, *writer*, or even *poet*. The actors and agents of Zumthor's history are called *works*, *literature*, and *texts*. The evolution he presented is "the organic evolution of forms and inspirations."[27] Nonetheless, Zumthor gave all the information he had about named authors, and while his thorough survey gives the impression that medieval literature is at times made by men, it is more often made by works: Abélard "is a first class writer," but the *Song of Roland* is "our most perfect epic poem."[28] Moreover, it is often unclear whether Zumthor is describing a person or a piece of literature. For instance, Marcabru, "esprit bizarre, obscur, passe pour l'inventeur du *trobar clus*" [a bizarre and obscure mind, is allegedly the inventor of the *trobar clus*].[29] Are the adjectives *bizarre* and *obscur* qualifying the man or the work? Grammatically they qualify Marcabru's mind, but semantically they are more appropriate to his poems for in French *obscur* means *difficult to understand, hermetic* when it is applied to a speech or a text; when it is applied to a person, it means *unknown*. Zumthor meant obviously the former sense, not the latter. This implies that in his mind "Marcabru" meant "Marcabru's poems." Conversely, Zumthor described the anonymous poem *Pyramus et Tysbe* as an "exquis petit poème de 900 vers, . . . plein de bonhomie malicieuse et de tendresse, dépourvu de toute lourdeur érudite" [exquisite little nine-hundred line poem, . . . good-natured, witty, gentle, and free from heavy erudition].[30] In Zumthor's words, the poem sounds like a charming little man, wise and gentle, learned but not pedantic—a sort of literary hobbit.

In Zumthor's *Histoire littéraire* the ambiguous bond between author and text is not strikingly odd, unless this bond is scrutinized—but there was no reason at that time to question the status of medieval authors. Medievalists were finally enjoying their literary corpus as a wonderful forest of texts, with a few names attached to a few trees. The lack of information about authors was no longer felt as a handicap but rather, I suspect, as an esthetic privilege. Not only could medievalists claim to have great texts, but their authors had the supreme elegance to remain anonymous, or, even if there were named, to be only elusive figures. This anonymity may be one of the reasons why in the 1950s medievalists were uneasy about fourteenth- and fifteenth-century literature. They generally saw later works as a decline from the twelfth- and thirteenth-century masterpieces.[31] Moreover, late medieval texts tended to have full-fleshed authors, known from sources other than their own texts, and who lacked their predecessors' discretion. Scholars and students used to the fluid concept of the author-text displayed in Zumthor's history of medieval literature may have felt uncomfortable with authors defined by external parameters. This may be why Zumthor's manual stops at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

What happened to Paul Zumthor during the Sixties? Already forty-five years old in 1960, Zumthor was a mature scholar whose general position toward medieval literature did not dramatically change. A critic of the text he was; a critic of the text he remained. But during those years Zumthor found his *écriture* and abandoned traditional academic style for a more subjective and free way of writing. Zumthor was directly influenced by Barthes whom he often quoted, defining him not as an authority or a scholarly reference but rather as an intellectual friend:

> Cependant, aux alentours de 1960, 65, nous rencontrions un ami nouveau, apparemment peu soucieux de nos problèmes, mais dont spontanément j'avais senti que sans lui nous n'irions pas plus loin. J'entends Roland Barthes, avec, à l'horizon, ceux qui n'avaient pas tardé à le suivre.[32]
>
> [In the period around 1960 and 1965, we were encountering a new friend, one who had little apparent interest in our problems but without whom I felt we would go no further. I am speaking of Roland Barthes, and, on the horizon, those who had already begun to follow him.]

Zumthor saw Barthes as an inspiration to go beyond the confines of the discipline. However, when Zumthor came to address the question of the author, he seemed to heed Barthes's call to dismiss the Author, while at the same time resisting the convenient fashion of declaring dead a variety of cumbersome notions such as the author, the subject, or man:

> Nous ne pouvons penser l'individu qu'à partir de notre propre historicité, par rapport à l'horizon de conscience dans les limites duquel nous nous mouvons. Au-delà s'étend un vaste espace flou, aux coordonnées vaguement cosmiques, rétives aux extrapolations analogiques. C'est donc moins un "auteur" qu'il me faudra présumer qu'un foyer d'organisation des formes, un groupe ambiant au porteur de parole et posé, relativement à lui, en statut hypostatique, impliquant ou non un vouloir-faire commun. Mais pourrait-on, dans cette situation, proclamer "la mort du sujet", cette fausse nouveauté qui fit assez parler d'elle voilà quelques années?[33]
>
> [We can only conceive the individual on the basis of our own historicity, in relation to the conscious boundaries within whose limits we live and move. Beyond that stretches a vast, fluid space, with vaguely cosmic coordinates, resistant to extrapolations by analogy. Thus I will have to presume, not an "author," but a locus for the organization of forms, a group surrounding the speaker and posited, in relation to him, in a hypostatic position, implying or not implying a common will. But can one, in this situation, proclaim the "death of the subject," that false novelty that was so much talked about a few years ago?]

In this passage Zumthor is at pains to explain what medievalists should use to replace the "author." His "locus for the organization of forms" recalls the

direction indicated by Foucault in "What is an author?" but nothing of Foucault's analytical acumen accompanies the shift from author to locus. And what to do with the subject? Like the "individual," the "subject" loses its definition when we try to conceive it in a time markedly disjointed from our own. The "vaguely cosmic coordinates" mentioned by Zumthor are the sort of information that medievalists can attach to their author's names, like "Chrétien de Troyes was probably active in Champagne between 1170 and 1190." Jean Frappier bluntly began his book on Chrétien by stating, "[v]ery little is known about the life of Chrétien de Troyes. In this sense he is a typical medieval author."[34] Frappier expressed in a different style the same view of the author as had Zumthor. An author, for a medievalist, is a *locus* (Zumthor's term) or a *work* (*une œuvre* named with a man's or a woman's name in Frappier's terms).[35] To kill Balzac may make sense as a symbolic gesture, but since there is so little of him, to kill Chrétien de Troyes sounds absurd. On the other hand, it is more difficult to question preconceptions about Chrétien de Troyes than preconceptions about Balzac.

The new spirit of the Sixties strengthened Zumthor's previous conviction that the medieval text was the proper object for the medievalist, but this spirit also raised a set of new questions about the relationship between text and context, and about the nature of the text itself. In *Speaking about the Middle Ages*, Zumthor characterized his general evolution as a spiral that began with *Histoire littéraire*, in which he "posait le principe d'une relation étroite entre texte et hors-texte" [proposed the principle of an intimate relationship between the text and the extratextual]."[36] Then in *Langues et techniques poétiques* (1963) and in *Essai de poétique médiévale* (1972), Zumthor focused on the relationship between texts and language and between texts and voice. With these two books Zumthor entered into his "hypertextualist" and "hypervocalist" phase. In *Essai de Poétique médiévale*, Zumthor declared that the lack of information about authors forced medievalists to work in an "experimental vacuum" without biographical or historical alibis. Therefore, he claimed, "la poésie médiévale constitue aujourd'hui un domaine de recherche et de réflexion privilégié" [medieval poetry now constitutes for us a priviledged area of research and reflection].[37] In the chapter "The Poet and the Text," Zumthor considered any authorial manifestation as a phenomenon produced within and by the text:

> Le nom en effet, quand l'auteur le déclare, s'intègre au texte, y remplissant une fonction en quelque sorte publicitaire, créant entre l'auditeur et ce qu'on lui fait entendre la fiction d'une connivence personnelle.[38]
>
> [In reality even when an author gives his name it becomes an integral part of the text, acting as a sort of advertisement, creating an illusion of personal complicity between the audience and what is being read or sung to them.]

Interventions by the narrator were also a function of the text.[39] For Zumthor, there was hardly any autobiography before Christine de Pizan.[40] In his enthusiasm for the rich textuality offered by medieval literature, Zumthor refashioned the literary history of the Middle Ages to fit his theoretical position. He viewed medieval literature as an "objective poetry," in which subjectivity did not play an important role. Although he conceded that marks of subjectivity multiplied in thirteenth-century texts, he saw them as a change in literary conventions: "l'illusion grandit, d'entendre à travers le message une parole plus personnelle" [we have the increasing illusion of hearing a more personal voice behind the text's message].[41] For Zumthor, before the fourteenth century all medieval literature is anonymous, even if a few names are attached to a few texts. Medieval literature can be personal only in a linguistic sense, that is, in the use of first-person verbs and pronouns. Following the lead provided by Robert Guiette and Roger Dragonetti, Zumthor wrote a subtle analysis of the lyric *I*.[42] But for him, this *I* did not refer to any person outside the enunciative system of the text. As Stephen Nichols has pointed out, for Zumthor the courtly poet is absent from his poem.[43]

In 1978, Zumthor went back to the context, or "the extratextual," in *Le Masque et la lumière*, a study of the *grands rhétoriqueurs*.[44] Most of the texts Zumthor included in his corpus are attributed to known authors like Molinet, Meschinot, and Lemaire des Belges. But Zumthor explained that he was not interested in "cerner historiquement un groupe d'hommes qualifiés de 'rhétoriqueurs' " [historically identifying a group of men qualified as "rhetoricians"] but rather in "reconstruire les lois ou tendances sous-jacentes à une poétique manifestée dans divers ouvrages des XVe et XVIe siècles" [reconstructing the rules or tendencies underlying a poetics expressed in various fifteenth- and sixteenth-century works].[45] At this point Zumthor was able to treat later medieval literature like earlier literature, and texts with known authors like anonymous texts. His personal evolution brought him back to literary history with all the tools and concepts he had tested during his "hypertextualist" phase. He also benefited from the work of Daniel Poirion, a younger scholar who contributed greatly to the integration of late medieval literature into the field of medieval literature.

In 1965, Poirion published *Le Poète et le Prince*. At first sight this book looks like a traditional French *thèse*, thoroughly erudite and carefully divided and subdivided. Poirion never uses words like *semiotic* or *epistemology*, and the term *structure* appears only a few times. Like Zumthor in the 1940s and 1950s, Poirion claimed primarily to address texts, and texts as literature. But he also distanced himself from medievalists who, like Zumthor, chose to focus on literature and language and to see literature as language. Poirion

explained his position thus:

> Des philologues, comme MM. R. Dragonetti et P. Zumthor, ont commencé l'inventaire des procédés de composition et de rédaction poétiques. Et il est évident qu'au niveau du langage nous rencontrons l'élaboration décisive du poème. Mais la création lyrique ne se ramène pas à une technique du langage . . . Nous avons donc préféré terminer notre recherche par une analyse, en somme, idéologique, admettant que les poètes avaient malgré tout quelque chose à dire, et que le mouvement lyrique nous conduisait finalement à une certaine vision du monde.[46]
>
> [Some philologists, such as Roger Dragonetti and Paul Zumthor, started to inventory techniques of poetic composition and writing. And it is obviously at the level of language that we find the decisive stage of development of the poem. But lyric creation cannot be reduced to a technique of language . . . Therefore, we have prefered to conclude our research with an ideological—so to speak—analysis, admiting that poets had after all something to say, and that the lyric movement was ultimately leading us to a certain vision of the world.]

Poirion was not trying to explain *l'œuvre par l'homme* or *l'homme par l'œuvre*. He did not see the corpus of poems he was working on as personal confessions and confidences. He tried to envision the author-text relationship in a historical context rather than in a linguistic one. In counterpart to Zumthor's concept of the lyric *je*, Poirion proposed a lyric *moi*.[47] By looking at different positions and postures of the self presented in the poems, Poirion was exploring what Stephen Greenblatt would call later *self-fashioning*. Whereas Zumthor tended to think along the lines of Barthes's demystification of the author and glorification of the text as text, Poirion was moving toward Foucault's concept of the author as a historical or epistemological construction. But the trends represented by Zumthor and Poirion did not create a schism in the medieval field, and their ways of treating authors and texts did not appear incompatible. Poirion accepted that a poem is made of language, and when Zumthor studied the *rhétoriqueurs*, he accepted a return to a more contextualized interpretation of literature. Since the medieval author had never been a fixed concept, medievalists could believe that they were naturally attuned to modernity—and even postmodernity, if they wished—and that they would not have to go through painful revisions in order to adopt either Barthes's or Foucault's views of the author, or various combinations of both.

By the end of the 1970s, medievalists entered *l'ère du soupçon*.[48] We have seen, through the example of Zumthor, that a complex author-text entity had been constructed before the 1960s in order to integrate the medieval corpus into the general corpus of French literature,[49] and that this entity was used by all medievalists as convenient to their needs, without much questioning of its soundness. But the desire for integration had shifted from

the canon of great authors taught in secondary schools toward the arena of modern literature discussed by critics and scholars. Instead of seeing Racine's theater as a beacon of literary accomplishment, medievalists started to think about Kafka's, Joyce's, and Proust's novels as models of writing. If they thought about Racine at all, it was after having read Barthes's *Sur Racine*.[50] The author-text, with its vague anthropomorphism, gave way to a sharper literary entity, the self-authored text, which allowed medievalists to apply to their texts the critical virtuosity used by others to interpret Kafka, Joyce, and Proust. The self-authored text was still a critical fiction but one which made medieval romances—and particularly prose romances—readable to a public well-versed in news ways of writing and criticizing, namely *le nouveau roman* and *la nouvelle critique*.

In his study on the Lancelot-Grail cycle Alexandre Leupin analyzed the fictionalization of the writer and of the act of writing within the romance. Instead of trying to reach the inner complexity of an author, Leupin addressed the complexity of a text he saw as a coherent and meaningful system and not just as a compilation of tales. For him, one of the major features of this way of writing was to undermine all references to external reality and to the origin of the text itself:

> La *vulgate* effondre ainsi, avec une rare systématicité, toute propriété de l'écriture: préséance d'une Voix, d'un double texte, d'un 'référent', signature d'un scripteur, présence authentifiante d'un ou de plusieurs auteurs: l'ensemble du texte doit être mis au compte de ce qui ne peut pas rendre compte: anonymie, pseudonymie, apocryphie, supplément d'origine.[51]
>
> [The *vulgate* thus collapses, with a peculiar determination, all *appropriation* of writing: preeminence of a Voice, of a double text, of a "referent," of the signature of a scribe, of the authenticating presence of one or several authors; the whole text must be ascribed to what cannot vouch for it—anonymity, pseudonymousness, apocrypha, supplement of origin.]

Indeed, writers wrote these romances, but they wrote in a fashion that makes them elusive or even irretrievable.[52] Modern readers should not consider this feature of medieval romance as a lack or a loss to be mourned, but rather as a literary strategy to be enjoyed. Leupin was probably one of the first medievalists to bring together so clearly, in Barthes's spirit of conquest and renewal, the death of the Author and the pleasure of the text.

Roger Dragonetti used a similar approach to named authors such as Chrétien de Troyes, Jean Renart, Guillaume de Lorris, and Jean de Meun. But he went beyond Leupin in his deconstruction of the notion of author; he went so far as to praise forgery and medieval forgers. Names of medieval authors are rather useless if we consider them in reference to real persons about whom we know almost nothing, but they become fascinating if we

see them as deliberate forgeries, and if we accept this sort of forgery as a literary device and not as a crime:

> S'il faut continuer à traiter de faussaires les clercs du moyen âge, c'est à condition de tourner les procédures de falsification en vertus positives, en pratiques de littérature, dont l'extraordinaire fécondité se retrouvera chez les écrivains de langue vulgaire et notamment chez les grands romanciers du XIIe et du XIIIe siècle.[53]
>
> [If we must continue to call medieval clerics forgers, we must turn falsification techniques into positive virtues, into literary practices that will prove extraordinarily productive for vernacular writers and in particular for the great romance writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.]

"Jean Renart" is not the name of a person, Dragonetti claimed, but refers to "deux modes de la ruse" [two aspects of cunning].[54] The two authors of the *Roman de la Rose* are only a fiction created by a single author who is neither "Guillaume de Lorris" nor "Jean de Meun" but rather their inventor.[55] The *Roman de la Rose* can then be seen as a coherent structure: "Il faut résolument changer d'optique et interpréter l'apparent désordre ou la prétendue incohérence du roman comme un prodigieux effet de l'art." [We must definitely change our perspective and interpret the apparent disorder or the alleged inconsistency of the romance as a marvelous result of art].[56] In submitting medieval authors, as they were known, to his merciless scepticism, Dragonetti implicitly constructed other medieval authors: the brilliant forgers who imagined the schemes and invented the names. The reader of *Le mirage des sources* cannot help but see those refashioned authors as resembling Dragonetti for their vast knowledge of medieval literature and their great mastery of language and its tricks. It is perhaps impossible to reconstruct figures of past authors without projecting something of one's own desire to be an author.

Bernard Cerquiglini dedicated his famous book *In Praise of the Variant* to the memory of Michel Foucault.[57] In a concise form, Cerquiglini answered the call to work on new questions about texts, authors, and discourses that Foucault had proposed in "What is an author?"[58] But he did so from the perspective of a specialist in medieval languages and texts—a philologist—reflecting on the evolution of his own discipline within the larger context of the history of the text.[59] His main concern is with the text, the author being a secondary matter—an attribute of the text, so to speak. According to Cerquiglini, the author began to acquire a "semblance of status" when he was excluded from the print shop and the text was protected against endless corrections, a development which occurred at the beginning of the seventeenth century.[60] Before that time, the author hardly existed. Cerquiglini thus affirms, "[t]he author is not a medieval concept" and treats the common

expression "medieval author" as a "functional anachronism."[61] Names of medieval authors result either from medieval strategies of writing, as Leupin and Dragonetti suggested, or from "modern fantasy" as Cerquiglini argued in the case of "Marie de France," who—or rather which—is "an invention of editors."[62]

It would seem that by 1989 a deadly blow had been delivered to the medieval author through the combined efforts of medievalists who diversely interpreted the hints provided by Barthes and Foucault about the author as a historical and ideological construct. However, it was precisely during the 1980s that medieval authors like Marie de France, Chrétien de Troyes, and Guillaume de Machaut were integrated into the general canon of French authors carried by major publishers such as *Le Livre de Poche* in its series *Lettres Gothiques*. The general public did not make the distinction that Cerquiglini made between Machaut, a man who can be considered as an emerging figure of the writer,[63] and Chrétien de Troyes, a name invented to express "the cultural ambition of the Middle Ages, namely *translatio studii*."[64] Chrétien de Troyes became an author's name functioning as authors' names do in our times, that is, as a marketing tool. And the use of this tool may be a more difficult trend to fight than the intellectual tradition bequeathed to medievalists by their ancestors, the philologists.

At the same time a reaction emerged among medievalists against what some saw as the excesses of the textualist tendency. Michel Zink presented his book *La Subjectivité littéraire* as a "provocation" against "immanentist criticism":

> La critique immanente s'est attachée depuis maintenant plusieurs décennies à dénier au texte tout référent, à montrer que le langage fonctionne en circuit clos selon ses propres lois et ne renvoie qu'à lui-même, à mettre en doute jusqu'à la notion d'auteur.[65]
>
> [For several decades now immanentist criticism has been intent on denying the text any referent, on demonstrating that language functions in a closed circuit according to its own structural laws and refering only to itself, and on casting doubt even on the notion of author.]

However, Zink did not attempt to rehabilitate the notion of the author in an unquestioned (and pre-Sixties) manner. Instead he analyzed the diverse ways through which the writer is constructed as a subject in thirteenth-century literature. Zink's shift from the notions of author and authorship to the notions of subject and subjectivity allowed him to build his reflection within a modern theoretical framework while avoiding the stiffness that a too-literal textualism could inflict on medieval studies.

In a similar move, Anne Berthelot began her book *Figures et fonction de l'écrivain au XIIIe siècle* by apologizing (ironically) for addressing such an

"anachronistic" topic as "le problème de l'écrivain, quand la critique a passé les trente dernières années, avec un bonheur plus ou moins grand, à traiter celui de l'écriture" [the problem of the writer, while critics spent the last thirty years addressing—more or less successfully—the problem of writing].[66] She specified that she was not interested in the real writer, but in the image of the writer that appeared in twelfth- and thirteenth-century vernacular literature.[67] But Berthelot departs from Dragonetti's and Cerquiglini's views of the medieval author as a ruse when she views both anonymous and onymous masks of the writer as the result of a prohibition cast by the Christian church on writers daring to write something other than celebrations of God or commentaries on Scripture: "Pendant plus de cent ans, en vertu de la primauté chrétienne des notions de responsabilité et de péché, la question fondamentale qui s'est posée, c'est: qui ose écrire?" [During more than a century, because of the primacy of Christian notions of responsibility and sin, the fundamental question asked was: Who dares to write?][68] By replacing the notion of author with the notion of writer, Berthelot displaced her enquiry from a textual to a cultural context.

For Katalin Halász, "l'œuvre immuable, respectée dans sa forme originelle, signée par son auteur est une chose à peine concevable dans les conditions de la création poétique en langue vernaculaire" [the immutable work, respected in its original form, and signed by its author, is hardly conceivable in the context of vernacular poetic creation].[69] However, the notion of author is still a useful category to analyze medieval romances, since these texts produce images of authors:

> Dans quelle mesure Robert de Boron est-il responsable de tous les récits qui se réclament de lui? Et qui est maître Hélie? Ou ce curieux Gautier Map, comment se retrouve-t-il fort probablement après sa mort, auteur d'univers romanesques bien distincts? Dénoncer la supercherie ne nous apprendra rien d'important et l'identité des auteurs continuera de nous fasciner. Car, après une fréquentation plus ou moins longue des romans médiévaux, tout un chacun trace inévitablement dans son esprit des images d'auteurs.[70]
>
> [In what measure is Robert de Boron responsible for all the stories that claim to be his? And who is Master Hélie? Or that strange Gautier Map, how come that he became—likely after his death—author of so distinctive romance worlds? In denouncing the hoax we will not learn anything of importance and the authors identity will continue to fascinate us. For, once we have been accointed for a while with medieval romances, we cannot help sketching images of authors in our minds.]

By analyzing the narrative strategies used by medieval writers to produce such elusive and fascinating figures, Halász called attention to the way medieval texts "communicate" with their readers, and to the fact that

"authors" are parts of a system of communication located in a specific cultural context.[71]

Sarah Kay made a similar gesture when she revisited the name "Chrétien de Troyes." On one hand she warned medievalists against the "backdoor return" of the biographical approach;[72] on the other, she located the phenomenon of pseudonymy within a specific group at a specific time:

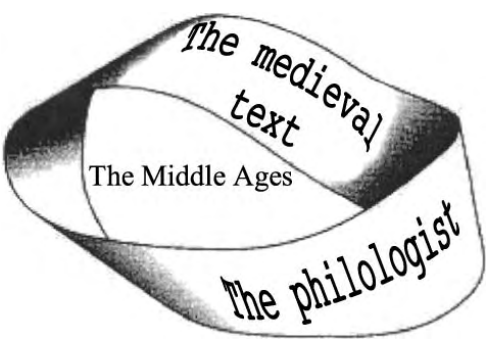
> I have elsewhere elaborated the idea that "courtly literature" and the discourse of "courtly love" arose in an atmosphere of repressed conflict between the clerical and lay members of aristocratic courts, and that the pervasive irony and euphemism of "courtly love" poetry were a means of negociating and palliating tension. Viewed in this context, the sobriquets chosen by troubadours are typically self-deprecating and disarming.[73]

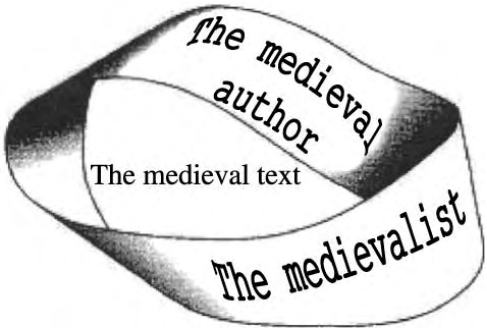
Kay suggests that the name "Crestien" may have belonged to the same category as the *senhal* [sobriquet] of the troubadours, and may have been used as "a signal of friendship and participation in poetic exchange."[74] Kay clearly refuses to view twelfth-century authors as distinct persons whose intentions and agendas could be uncovered by careful reading of their works (and particularly of their prologues and epilogues). Yet she does not propose a general theory of the medieval author to replace the author-person or the author-text.

In a recent book, Kay compares the *Lais* of Marie de France with Adgar's *Gracial* (a twelfth-century Anglo-Norman collection of Marian miracles). Although her point is not the question of authorship, Kay reaffirms her skeptical position about "Marie de France" as she did about "Chrétien de Troyes." The title of her chapter reads "The Virgin and the Lady: the abject and the object in Adgar's *Gracial* and the *Lais* attributed to Marie de France."[75] There is no need to specify "the *Gracial* attributed to Adgar" since "Adgar" has not (yet?) been constructed as an author's name; "Adgar" appears in the prologue of Miracle IX and therefore can be used as a convenient tag to differentiate this collection of miracles from numerous other collections. Kay remarks that "Marie" appears in a similarly discreet fashion "in only one collection (in the prologue to 'Guigemar' as it appears in the Harley manuscript), the two others copies of this *lai* either omitting or altering the line in which the name occurs."[76] Neither does Kay take a definitive position for or against the attribution of the twelve *lais* contained in the Harley manuscript to one single author named "Marie," nor does she openly reject the attribution of these twelve *lais* to the author-translator of the *Ysopet* (the only place in which the name "Marie de France" appears) and to the author-translator of *L'Espurgatoire Seint Patriz*. Kay reminds scholars that there is still an open debate about "Marie de France" and her works, while she remarks in an endnote that the authors of the essays gathered in the volume *In Quest of Marie de France* unanimously support "Marie as author of the *Lais*" without engaging "the contrary position."[77]

Since Kay's remarks, the case of Marie de France has been reexamined by Keith Busby who suggests that doubts about the identity of Marie as author of the *lais* might have been created by thirteenth century copyists.[78] In his last book, Howard Bloch, while accepting the uncertainty surrounding the identity of the author of the *Lais*, the *Ysopet*, and the *Espurgatoire*, undertakes to "prove from within" that "Marie is among the most self-conscious, sophisticated, complicated, obscure, tricky, and disturbing of her time—the Joyce of the twelfth-century."[79] Bloch's approach may seem at first sight to be a return to the Author. However, by combining deconstruction and New Historicism,[80] Bloch succeeds in recreating a credible authorial persona, who does not need to be fictionalized to touch us. He also captures a historical moment of great importance in the development of authorial consciousness—the second half of the twelfth century—and brings to light a process of individualization that is not incompatible with anonymity.

The case of Marie de France exemplifies the paradoxical status of the medieval author in French medieval studies today. "Marie de France" represents the amount of faith that we, medievalists, require in order to engage with our subject matter. Whether we believe in or doubt her existence as an author, we feel we must occupy a specific position with regard to the origination of the group of texts gathered under her name. Although we often prefer to avoid reopening the debate about the author, it is not over and Sarah Kay is right to call our attention back to it. If we have not brought the question to a closure it is probably because we have not reached the position of "indifference" that Foucault called for at the end of his essay "What is an author?" I do not believe that any of us can claim to be in a position in which we could honestly affirm that "who is speaking" makes no difference. Due to the form of our own subjectivity, the question "who is speaking (to me)?" cannot be repressed or suppressed. But the configuration of our relationship to the question has changed since Zumthor started to question his own discipline. Borrowing the Möbius strip from Alexandre Leupin, as he invites his readers to do,[81] I will represent this change by the two following models:





I understand the positions on the strip (a continuous page which both has and does not have a recto and a verso) as the positions of identification and projection by which a subject constructs an object allowing him or her to define his or her desire; the position in the void delineated by the strip is occupied by the representation of this desire. Thus, it seems to me that the medieval author is to modern-day medievalists what the medieval text was to philologists: both a tool and a projection that cannot be analyzed in logical terms—at least according to the basic Aristotelian logic that we generally imply when we speak about logic—since it violates the principle of noncontradiction. For us, the medieval author both exists and does not exist; it reflects us and we cannot look at it; it defines us and we cannot define it. It is the medieval text that now occupies the position of our ideal goal in the void in which logical abstraction is possible.[82] Therefore, working on the medieval author requires accepting and even enjoying some degree of ambiguity and paradox. I thank again all the contributors of this volume for their willingness to glance at what is for us unobservable.

Notes

1. Roland Barthes, "La mort de l'auteur," in *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Eric Marty, 3 vols. (Paris: Seuil, 1993) 1: 495. English translation by Stephen Heath in R. Barthes, "The Death of the Author," *Image, Music, Text* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), p. 148.
2. First published in English as "The Death of the Author" in *Aspen Magazine* 5–6 (1967), attracted more attention when published in French in *Manteia* 5 (1968), pp. 12–17.
3. "Barthes himself in seeking to dethrone the author, is led to an apotheosis of authorship that vastly outspace anything to be found in the critical history he takes arms against." Seán Burke, *The Death and Return of the Author: Criticism and Subjectivity in Barthes, Foucault, Derrida* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992), p. 27.

4. Barthes, "La mort de l'auteur," pp. 493–494. "The Death of the Author," pp. 52–53.
5. "L'*auteur* est un personnage moderne, produit sans doute par notre société dans la mesure où, au sortir du Moyen Age, avec l'empirisme anglais, le rationalisme français, et la foi personnelle de la Réforme, elle a découvert le prestige de l'individu" [The *author* is a modern figure, a product of our society insofar as, emerging from the Middle Ages with English empiricism, French rationalism and the personal faith of the Reformation, it discovered the prestige of the individual]. Barthes, "La mort de l'auteur," p. 491. "The Death of the Author," p. 142.
6. Alastair J. Minnis, *Medieval theory of authorship: scholastic literary attitudes in the later middle ages* (London: Scolar Press, 1984), p. 43.
7. *Bulletin de la Société française de philosophie*, 63 (1969): 73–104. This text is given in Michel Foucault, *Dits et Ecrits I: 1954–1988*, ed. Daniel Defert, François Ewald, and Jacques Lagrange (Paris: Gallimard, 2001), pp. 817–849. A modified version has been translated by Josué V. Harari in *Textual Strategies: Perspectives in Post-Structuralist Criticism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979), pp. 141–160.
8. Foucault, "Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur?" p. 817. My translation, since this passage does not figure in Harari's translation. Foucault met Barthes in 1955 and the two were good friends for a long time (see Foucault, *Dits et Ecrits I: 1954–1988*, p. 25).
9. Foucault, "Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur?," p. 821. "What is an Author?" p. 143.
10. The book ends with a sort of prophecy, announcing "one can certainly wager that man would be erased, like a face drawn in sand at the edge of the sea." *The Order of Things: An Archaelogy of the Human Sciences*, trans. of *Les Mots et les Choses* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1971), p. 387.
11. "Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur?" p. 824. "What is an Author?" p. 145.
12. "Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur?" pp. 817–818. This list does not figure in Harari's translation.
13. "Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur?" p. 827. "What is an Author?" pp. 148–149.
14. "Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur?" p. 840. "What is an Author?" p. 160.
15. With the exception of Jacques Lacan. See Jean-Charles Huchet, *Littérature médiévale et psychanalyse: pour une clinique littéraire* (Paris: PUF, 1990), pp. 19–20.
16. See Burke's reflection on the link between "The Death of the Author" and *S/Z* in *The Death and Return of the Author* (see above n. 3), pp. 46–47.
17. See recent works on Gaston Paris and Joseph Bédier: Ursula Bähler, *Gaston Paris et la philologie romane* (Geneva: Droz, 2004); Ji-hyun Kim, "For a Modern Medieval Literature: Gaston Paris, Courtly Love and the Demands of Modernity" (Diss. Harvard University, 2005); Michelle Warren, "*Au commencement était l'île*: The Colonial Formation of Joseph Bédier's *Chanson de Roland*" in *Postcolonial Approaches to the European Middle Ages: Translating Cultures*, ed. Ananya J. Kabir and Deanne M. Williams (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 205–226.
18. Paul Zumthor, *Merlin le prophète: Un thème de la littérature polémique, de l'historiographie et des romans* (Lausanne: Payot, 1943). For more details on the life

and career of Zumthor, see his own reflections: Paul Zumthor, *Parler du Moyen* Age (Paris: Minuit, 1980) and *Ecriture et nomadisme. Entretiens et essais* (Montréal: l'Hexagone, 1990). See also: *Paul Zumthor ou l'invention permanente*, ed. J. Cerquiglini-Toulet and C. Lucken (Geneva: Droz, 1998). For a bibliography of his works from 1943 to 1987, see *Le Nombre du temps: hommage à Paul Zumthor* (Paris: Champion, 1988), pp. 3–14; for a supplement covering the years 1987 to 1997, see *Paul Zumthor ou l'invention permanente*, pp. 161–164.

19. Zumthor, *Parler du Moyen Age*, p. 55. *Speaking of the Middle Ages*, trans. Sarah White (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986), p. 47.
20. Zumthor, *Merlin*, p. 7. My translation.
21. See Bédier's hypotheses on the author of the *Song of Roland* in *La Chanson de Roland commentée par Joseph Bédier* (Paris: L'Édition d'Art, 1927), pp. 31–41.
22. Both Bruce and Frappier edited *La Mort Artu*.
23. Jean Frappier, *Etude sur* La Mort le Roi Artu (Paris: Droz, 1936), pp. 214, 243–244, 365.
24. Zumthor, *Merlin*, p. 5.
25. Anne Berthelot, *Figures et fonction de l'écrivain au XIIIe siècle* (Montréal/Paris: Institut d'Etudes Médiévales/Vrin, 1991) p. 408.
26. Zumthor, *Merlin*, p. 273. According to Emmanuèle Baumgartner, Zumthor has privileged the prophetic aspect of Merlin over his role as a writer to stress the preeminence of the voice over the written text. "Paul Zumthor et le roman médiéval" in *Paul Zumthor ou l'invention permanente*, p. 64 [63–72].
27. Paul Zumthor, *Histoire littéraire de la France médiévale (VIe-XIVe siècles)* (Paris: PUF, 1954), p. v.
28. Zumthor, *Histoire littéraire*, pp.165 and 161. My translation.
29. Zumthor, *Histoire littéraire*, pp. 174–175.
30. Zumthor, *Histoire littéraire*, p. 192.
31. See Kevin Brownlee, *Poetic Identity in Guillaume de Machaut* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), p. 3.
32. Zumthor, *Parler*, pp. 64–65. *Speaking*, p. 56. Barthes is also quoted or mentioned elsewhere (*Parler*, pp. 19, 29, 53, 99, 102. *Speaking*, pp. 12, 22, 45, 89, 92). Zumthor met Barthes in 1934 or 1935 when both attended courses at the Sorbonne. H. Solterer, "Performing Pasts: A Dialogue with Paul Zumthor," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern* Studies 27:3 (1997), [pp. 595–640], p. 604.
33. Zumthor, *Parler*, pp. 68–69. *Speaking*, pp. 60–61.
34. Jean Frappier, *Chrétien de Troyes: The Man and His Work*, trans. R. Cormier (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1982), p. 3. Translated from: *Chrétien de Troyes: L'homme et l'œuvre* (Paris: Hatier, 1968).
35. Zumthor recognized his proximity to Frappier (and other scholars) in this respect: "Notre tendance commune, au-delà de nos divergences, était un repli sur le "texte seul" sacralisé" [Our common tendency, above and beyond our divergences, was a turning back upon the text itself, the text made sacred.] *Parler*, p. 60. *Speaking*, p. 52.

36. Zumthor, *Parler*, p. 46. *Speaking*, p. 38.
37. *Essai de poétique médiévale* (Paris: Seuil, 1972), p. 10; *Toward a Medieval Poetics*, trans. Philip Bennett (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press), p. xx.
38. Zumthor, *Essai*, p. 65; *Toward*, p. 41.
39. Zumthor, *Essai*, p. 67; *Toward*, pp. 42–43.
40. Zumthor, *Essai*, p. 66; *Toward*, pp. 66–67.
41. Zumthor, *Essai*, p. 64; *Toward*, p. 40.
42. "Les poètes que le langage d'alors désigna du nom de *trouvères* nous ont donné la première poésie 'lyrique' qui apparaisse à l'horizon de la langue française: mode de dire entièrement et exclusivement référé à un *je* qui, pour n'avoir souvent d'autre existence que grammaticale, n'en fixe pas moins le plan et les modalités du discours, hors de toute narration." [The trouvères, as the terminology of the day called these poets, gave us the first "lyric" poetry to appear in French, being a mode of expression entirely and exclusively referring to an *I*, which, although frequently no more than a grammatical cipher, nonetheless fixes the plane and modalities of discourse to the exclusion of any narrative element] *Essai*, p. 189; *Toward*, pp. 143–144. Later on Zumthor affirms: "L'aspect subjectif de la chanson (le sens du *je* qui la chante) n'a pour nous d'existence que grammaticale." [The chanson's subjective aspect, implied by the singing *I*, has no more than grammatical existence for the modern reader] *Essai de poétique médiévale*, p. 192; *Toward a Medieval Poetics*, p. 146.
43. Steve Nichols, "Si on repensait le 'grand chant courtois'?" *Paul Zumthor ou l'invention permanente*, p. 38 [33–50].
44. Zumthor, *Parler*, p. 46. *Speaking*, p. 39. The poets nicknamed the *Grands Rhétoriqueurs* wrote between 1470 and 1520.
45. Paul Zumthor, *Le masque et la lumière: la poétique des Grands Rhétoriqueurs* (Paris: Seuil, 1978), p. 10. My translation.
46. Daniel Poirion, *Le Poète et le Prince: l'évolution du lyrisme courtois de Guillaume de Machaut à Charles d'Orléans* (Paris: PUF, 1965), p. 10.
47. The five sections of chapter 5 in *Le Poète et le Prince* relate lyricism directly to the self as their titles show: *Le lyrisme de l'interprète: l'ambiguïté du Moi; Le lyrisme du flatteur: l'effacement du Moi; Le lyrisme du comédien: le déguisement du Moi; Le lyrisme de la sagesse: le dépassement du Moi; Le lyrisme de l'action: le dévouement du Moi*.
48. Nathalie Sarraute's volume of essays, *L'ère du soupçon: essais sur le roman*, was in fact published in 1956, but its title and spirit accurately describes the type of criticism that appeared in the field of medieval literature around 1980. My following remarks on the *ère du soupçon* as applied to the medieval author are based on a digressive section of my book *Le sujet et la mort dans* La Mort Artu (Saint Genouph: Nizet, 2002), pp. 66–73.
49. On this integration, see Daniel Poirion, *Ecriture poétique et composition romanesque* (Orléans: Paradigme, 1994), pp. 10–11.
50. Roland Barthes, *Sur Racine* (Paris: Seuil, 1960).
51. Alexandre Leupin, *Le Graal et la littérature* (Lausanne: L'Age d'Homme, 1982), p. 53. My translation.

52. Leupin, *Le Graal*, p. 53.
53. Roger Dragonetti, *Le mirage des sources: l'art du faux dans le roman médiéval* (Paris: Seuil, 1987), p. 32. My translation.
54. Dragonetti, *Le mirage*, p. 12.
55. Dragonetti, *Le mirage*, pp. 200–224.
56. Dragonetti, *Le mirage*, p. 207.
57. "Michel Foucault a souhaité ce livre qui est dédié à sa mémoire." Bernard Cerquiglini, *Eloge de la variante* (Paris: Seuil, 1989), p. [13]. Translation: *In Praise of the Variant*, trans. B. Wing (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), p. [v].
58. Cerquiglini refers specifically to this article in *Eloge*, p. 25, n. 4; *In Praise*, p. 8, n. 4.
59. The subtitle of Cerquiglini's book is, "A Critical History of Philology."
60. Cerquiglini, *Eloge*, p. 22; *In Praise*, p. 5.
61. Cerquiglini, *Eloge*, p. 25; *In Praise*, p. 8.
62. Cerquiglini, *Eloge*, p. 57; *In Praise*, p. 33.
63. Cerquiglini admitted that "on peut faire apparaître , dès le XIVe siècle, la figure et la pratique d'un écrivain" [the emergence of the figure and practice of the writer can be shown starting in the fourteenth century], and in a note referred to Jacqueline Cerquiglini's *Un engin si soutil. Guillaume de Machaut et l'écriture au XIVe siècle* (Paris: Champion, 1985). Cerquiglini, *Eloge*, p. 25; *In Praise*, p. 8.
64. Cerquiglini, *Eloge*, p. 57; *In Praise*, p. 33.
65. Michel Zink, *La subjectivité littéraire: autour du siècle de Saint Louis* (Paris: PUF, 1985), p. 23.
66. Berthelot, *Figures et fonction*, p. 7.
67. Berthelot, *Figures et fonction*, pp. 7–8.
68. Berthelot, *Figures et fonction*, p. 16. Leupin had also began to question the religious aspects of writing and the problems posed by secular writing within christian literacy. See: Alexandre Leupin, *Fiction et Incarnation: littérature et théologie au Moyen Age* (Paris: Flammarion, 1993).
69. Katalin Halász, *Images d'auteur dans le roman médiéval (XIIe-XIIIe siècles)*, Studia Romanica de Debrecen 17 (Debrecen: Kossuth Lajos Tudományegyetem, 1992), p. 5.
70. Halász, Images, p. 8.
71. Halász, Images, pp. 9–10.
72. Sarah Kay, "Who was Chrétien de Troyes?" *Arthurian Literature* 15 (1997), p. 2.
73. Kay, "Who was," p. 33.
74. Kay, "Who was," p. 34.
75. Sarah Kay, *Courtly Contradictions: The Emergence of the Literary Object in the Twelfth Century* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), p. 179.
76. Kay, *Courtly Contradictions*, p. 207.
77. Kay, *Courtly Contradictions*, p. 344, n. 36. The volume of essays is: *In Quest of Marie de France: A Twelfth-Century Poet*, ed. Chantal A. Maréchal (Lampeter, Wales: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992). Kay refers to two books putting in question "Marie de France" as author: Richard Baum, *Recherches sur les*

œuvres attribuées à Marie de France (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1968); Bernadette A. Masters, *Esthétique et Manuscripture: Le 'Moulin à paroles' au moyen âge* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1992).

78. Keith Busby, *Codex and Context: Reading Old French Verse Narrative in Manuscript*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002) 1: 472–480.
79. R. Howard Bloch, *The Anonymous Marie de France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), p. 19.
80. Bloch explains clearly his methodology in his conclusion (*The Anonymous*, pp. 316–319).
81. See above, Alexandre Leupin, "The *Roman de la Rose* as a Möbius Strip (On Interpretation)."
82. "L'objet de notre désir critique est un texte ou un ensemble de textes" [The object of our critical desire is a text or an ensemble of texts]. Zumthor, *Parler*, p. 41. *Speaking*, p. 34.

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